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PEACE,
PERMANENT AND UNIVERSAL:
ITS PRACTICABILITY, VALUE,
AND
CONSISTENCY WITH DIVINE REVELATION.

A Prize Essay,

BY
H. T. J. MACNAMARA.

LONDON:
SAUNDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT STREET.
1841.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON;

THESE PAGES ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S
MOST OBEDIENT AND MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present work was undertaken in consequence of the following circular :

PRIZE ESSAY.

The Committee of “the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace,” offer a prize of

ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS

for the best essay, and another of Twenty Guineas for the second best essay, on the following subjects :—

First—To show that War, under all circumstances, is inconsistent with the precepts of the Gospel, and the spirit of the Christian Dispensation.

Second—To point out the duties of Magistrates and Peace Officers in cases of Tumults, Insurrections and

Invasions, with the most effectual method of preventing such calamities.

Third—To show the best means of settling all Disputes between Nations, without recourse to Arms.

* * * *

The award will be given on the 1st January, 1841.

The Committee are happy to announce that the following gentlemen have kindly consented to become Adjudicators :—

REV. J. PYE SMITH, D.D., LL.D., F.G.S., Homerton College.

REV. THOS. PYNE, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge.

REV. JOHN HARRIS, D.D., President of Cheshunt College.

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On behalf of the Committee,

JAMES HARGREAVES, }
NUN MORGAN HARRY, } *Secretaries.*

91, BISHOPSGATE WITHIN,* LONDON,

December 30, 1839.

The reverend adjudicators honoured the present essay by awarding to it the first prize.

* The Office is now at 19, New Broad Street.

The sincere thanks of the writer are due both to the adjudicators, who have kindly suggested several improvements, and also to the Committee of the Peace Society, for the interest which they manifested in the publication of these pages, and for their liberality in offering to take one hundred copies.

1, ELM COURT, TEMPLE,

May 18, 1841.

PART I.

WAR, UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, IS INCONSISTENT WITH
THE PRECEPTS OF THE GOSPEL, AND THE SPIRIT
OF THE CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION.

ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST PART.

CHAPTER I.

CAUSES OF INSENSIBILITY TO THE HORRORS OF WAR.

SECTION 1.—Prejudice of Education and Custom.

2.—Frequency of War.

3.—Belief that the Right of War belongs to the Civil Government.

4.—Blindness to Claims of Human Nature.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSE OF A WANT OF ACTIVE EXERTION AGAINST WAR.

CHAPTER III.

EVILS OF WAR.

SECTION 1.—Physical.

2.—Moral.

CHAPTER IV.

ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

SECTION 1.—Cases not parallel.

2.—Jewish Doctrines on this subject expressly changed.

CHAPTER V.

PROPHECIES AND EVENTS, PREVIOUS TO THE COMING OF JESUS,
IN FAVOUR OF PEACE.

CHAPTER VI.

SPIRIT OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN FAVOUR OF PEACE.

- SECTION 1.—Teaching Duty to God.
2.—Teaching Duty to Man.
-

CHAPTER VII.

LETTER OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION AGAINST OFFENSIVE WAR.

- SECTION 1.—Christian Meekness.
2.—Christian Charity.
3.—Christian Love.
4.—Christian Peace.
-

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION FORBIDS DEFENSIVE WAR.

CHAPTER IX.

OPINIONS AND PRACTICE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS FOR
THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

CHAPTER X.

- SECTION 1.—Summary and Review.
2.—Effects of the Present Conduct of Professing Christians on their Religion.

“ O Earth, Earth, Earth, hear the word of the Lord !”

Jeremiah xxii. 29.

“ Forgive your enemies ; do good to them that hate you.”

“ My kingdom is not of this world ; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.” .

“ Follow peace with all men.”

New Testament.

P E A C E .

CHAPTER I.

CAUSES OF INSENSIBILITY TO THE HORRORS OF WAR.

THERE is not a theme so deeply affecting the happiness both spiritual and temporal of man, as the question of peace and war, and therefore it is entitled at the least to our sincere and devoted attention. A serious appeal to Christians on a subject intimately connected with their religion, will not, we feel convinced, be treated either with levity or contempt. The very fact of a *doubt* having been raised with regard to the consistency of so prevalent a custom as war with the principles of our faith, should of itself be sufficient to invite reflection from all who profess to be followers of Jesus. It is time for Christians to awake and behold the danger by which they are threatened ; it is time for them to shake off all apathy,

and, rousing their energies, to examine our doctrines, so that if false, they may oppose them ; if true, they may adopt them ; but in the name of religion and of humanity, we beseech of them not to sink into a state of inactivity, while war is threatening or destroying their fellow men.

We have enough to overcome ; every obstacle that can possibly be brought to impede a human undertaking, lies in our way. There are two classes of persons that do not exert their influence in the cause of peace :—first, those who are insensible to the evils of war : and secondly, those, who, notwithstanding their conviction of these evils, do not see the necessity of making any special effort for their abolition.

SECTION 1.—*Prejudice of Education and Custom.*

An insensibility to the horrors of war, arises from several causes : first, the strong bias of education and custom ; from the cradle to the grave, every thing in favour of war, and in concealment of its actual tendency, is brought into operation. Children, innocent children, are presented with warlike weapons in miniature, as their toys, and are taught to associate the idea of pleasure and reward, with that of a soldier's occupation. There is scarcely a book put into their hands, from Nursery Tales to Homer's Iliad, but it abounds in the praises of warriors.

The mode of education pursued at the present day, is too often a systematic corruption of the youthful dispositions, rather than the exercise of rational and of moral powers. The absurd and pernicious principles of Pagan morality, the sanguinary and criminal scenes narrated in the *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, and similar compositions, are usually impressed on the tender mind with far greater zeal than is bestowed on the mild and peaceful doctrines of Jesus. These books may be read as noble specimens of poetry, but surely with circumspection, and comments should be made, pointing out the new species of virtue, and preferable rule of moral conduct introduced by Christianity. The deceptive costume in which war is arrayed, misleads the youthful as well as the more matured. They behold the various regiments, dressed in the gayest colours, and marching with their fluttering banners and their glittering bayonets to the sound of music; they do not see those men on the field of battle engaged in deadly strife; they do not see them returning, pale, sick, and wounded; the widows and the fatherless are not there, for the children of woe make no parade of their sorrows; the martial drum and fife do not call to mind the shrieks of the wounded and the dying; the shining arms do not remind the spectators of bayonets dripping with gore. "To one who reflects," observes the eloquent Channing, "there is something very shocking in these decorations of war.

If men must fight, let them wear the badges which become their craft. It would shock us to see a hangman dressed out in scarf and epaulette, and marching with merry music to the place of punishment. The soldier has a sadder work than the hangman ; his office is not to dispatch occasionally a single criminal : he goes to the slaughter of thousands as free from crime as himself. The sword is worn as an ornament, and yet its use is to pierce the heart of a fellow creature. As well might the butcher parade before us his knife, or the executioner his axe or halter. Allow war to be necessary, still it is a horrible necessity, a work to fill a good man with anguish of spirit ; shall it be turned into an occasion of pomp and merriment ? To dash out men's brains, to stab them to the heart, to cover the body with gashes, to lop off the limbs, to crush men under the hoof of the war-horse, to destroy husbands and fathers, to make widows and orphans, all this may be necessary ; but to attire men for this work with fantastic trappings, to surround this fearful occupation with all the circumstances of gaiety and pomp, seems as barbarous as it would be to deck a gallows, or to make a stage for dancing beneath the scaffold.*

Thus men delude one another. They give to

* "Lecture on War," by W. E. Channing, p. 33. The friends of peace should congratulate themselves on the possession of this

murder the more softened title of war, to the murderer that of soldier; while statues and monuments are raised in all directions, even in our churches, to the insatiable demon of strife, as if he were a deity to command the worship of mankind.

Our prejudices render us blind to the crimes of warriors. Let them but meet with success in the field of battle, and they are supposed to ensure honour on earth and happiness in heaven. The vices of the man are buried under the praises of the hero. Is it then wonderful that youth should acquire notions of glory totally false, and altogether at variance with a Christian spirit?

“War, pestilence, and famine,” says Cicero, “have been the great scourges of mankind. The two latter are always mentioned with horror; while *the former is so blazoned with the trophies of heroism and valorous exploits*, that while patriots exclaim loudly against the conduct of war, and all complain of its expenditure, and wish for peace, but few are found who object to its principle.”

Were it not for these delusions, were the multitude duly aware of the true nature of war, even children would shudder at its very name.

Though the hero be praised and honoured;

work, replete as it is with argument and eloquence, and emanating from one who has devoted his powerful mind to the benefit of his fellow beings.

though in life he be loaded with wealth and rank ; though after death his fame survive, and the costly monument display his courage and success, yet the true Christian would prefer to spend his existence in humble labour, or in calm retirement; and, at its close, rather than have such mockery over his mortal remains, he would choose his resting-place under the green sod with the lowly and the poor. The poet Southey, when describing Pizarro, observes—

“ A mighty realm
He overran, and with relentless arms
Slew or enslaved its unoffending sons,
And wealth and power and fame were his reward.
There is another world beyond the grave,
According to their deeds, where men are judged,—
O reader ! if thy daily bread be earned
By daily labour,—yea, however low, .
However wretched be thy lot assigned,
Thank thou, with deepest gratitude, the God
Who made thee, that thou art not such as he.”

SECTION 2.—*Frequency of War.*

Another cause of this insensibility to war is undoubtedly its frequent occurrence. This it is that has made history a mere catalogue of miseries and murders, and that has dried up the sources of human pity. If war had been a rare evil, if the world had enjoyed peace since its creation, until at one period a battle suddenly took place, with

what horror should we regard the men who engaged in it, the time at which it occurred, and the very spot where it was fought ! It would be a deserted, desolate place, marked as the scene of a terrible murder.* And yet the frequency of an event will not change its nature, though it accustom us to its appearance. We should not allow our minds thus to be rendered torpid and insensible to surrounding circumstances, but reflection should be summoned to overcome the power of habit.

SECTION 3.—*Notion of War appertaining to Civil Government.*

The common belief that the right of war belongs to civil government, greatly promotes an indifference to its evils. The sovereign, looking upon war as a right essential to his attributes, forgets that he is committing a crime, and therefore does not apply the considerations of morality. The subject, believing himself bound to obey the sovereign's command, which is exercised as a right, perhaps imputes to himself merit in the slaughter of his fellow-beings.

Many who allow the precepts of Christianity to be obligatory to their fullest extent on *individuals*, endeavour to draw a distinction when they are

* Channing on War.

applied to political bodies or *states*. It is incumbent on those who would make an exception to rules apparently *universal*, clearly to prove their assertion, and to have very strong authority for introducing the exclusion; and we should be most careful of admitting trifling quibbles and idle distinctions, that may waste away the firmly knit and symmetrical body of the Christian faith into a lifeless and inactive skeleton.

The argument in support of this national right to contravene the Divine commands is thus stated: No law being of general authority among nations in order to protect them from violence, each community must protect itself, and must frequently have recourse to war.* The proposition is supported by some such reasoning as this: an individual is enabled to obtain redress for an injury from the constituted authorities of the state to which he is subject, but no tribunal can be appealed to by nations. It might be sufficient to answer, that it is our own fault that there is no court for the settlement of disputes between nations, and that negligence will not excuse a breach of duty; but the fact is, that the above

* See a very able essay on "The Applicability of the Pacific Principles of the New Testament to the Conduct of States," &c. By Jonathan Dymond. It forms the seventh tract of the Peace Society.

argument assumes the whole basis of the dispute, for it proceeds on the fallacious hypothesis that the reason why *individuals* may not use violence, is because *the laws will use it for them*, whereas the endurance of injuries is practised by individuals, because *it is required by Christianity*. There is no exception in the Gospel to uphold this argument of our adversaries,* and it is a remarkable feature in the Christian religion, that its rules are applicable, and will be productive of the greatest benefits to every nation, and every government on the face of the earth.

The duties prescribed by our Lord, are all to take precedence of those which arise from the institutions of man. No one can throw off his *individual responsibility to God*, in whatever situation he may be placed; nor will the acting in an aggregate capacity change disobedience into obedience, or convert a crime into a duty. How can that be lawful for a body of men, which is unlawful for an individual; or that which is a vice in a member of the community, become a virtue when performed by a large portion of the community, and rendered only more detrimental in extent and in force? Let war be disguised under all its tinsel trappings, and masked under the sanction of a government, it is still a crime.

* See Note A, in Appendix.

The veil thrown around it, like that worn by the Prophet of Khorassan, conceals beneath a deformed and frightful monster.

What is a declaration of war? It is a sentence of death against thousands of innocent beings, who have undergone no trial, and who have had no verdict returned against them. It is by one blow to commit a thousand murders. Too long we have disguised these horrors under mild terms. It is time to declare that wilfully to slay an innocent fellow-creature is murder, whether it be committed by an individual, or by a body of men, by a subject, or a government; and whether the weapon be the assassin's knife or the soldier's musket. Men, who use their reflective powers, and choose to think for themselves, rather than to be *thought for*, see no difference in a crime of like degree, even though it proceed from one who wears a red coat, instead of from the poverty-stricken wretch in tatters, who may shed blood to save himself from starvation, and may expiate his crime on the scaffold. The philosophic Seneca has expressed the same sentiment in these words: "Things, which if men had done in their private capacities, they would have paid for with their lives, the very same thing we extol to the skies, when performed in their war habiliments."* And to the same effect are the well-known lines—

* Epist. 95.

“ One murder makes a villain,
Millions a hero. Princes were privileged
To kill, and numbers sanctified the crime.”*

It was the voice of reason that suggested to the barbarians the title which they so aptly bestowed on Alexander the Great, of “the mighty murderer.”

So the spoliation which ever accompanies war, is rapine, is robbery, though it be committed under the command of a general or of a king. “By what right,” asked Alexander of a pirate, “do you infest the seas?” “By the same that you infest the universe,” the pirate replied; “but because I do it in a small ship, I am called a robber; and because you do the same acts with a great fleet, you are called a conqueror!” Equally just was the language of the Scythian ambassadors to the same deluded monarch: “Thou boastest that the only design of thy marches is to extirpate robbers. *Thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world!*”

It will be asked, “Is not a subject, then, bound to fight at the command of a government?” We answer, Certainly not! It will be seen that we do not advocate resistance to the ruling authorities; and we admit, as a general rule, that obedience is to be paid to them. In questions like the present, however, which so strongly affect the

* Bishop Porteus on Death.

spiritual welfare of men, it is their duty, first to examine for themselves, and then to be guided by the result, whatever may be the consequences. No difference of opinion as to the *expediency* of measures will justify disobedience; and also in cases of *doubt*, the subject may submit his opinion to the law. But when commanded to perform an act plainly opposed to every conscientious dictate, he must not waver for a moment, but must prefer the will of God to that of man. "Fear God. Honour the king," expresses the chief duty in its proper order. "We ought to obey God rather than men,"* was the saying of the apostles to their persecutors, and such should be the reply of all Christians. They should be prepared, like the early followers of Jesus, to endure any penalty rather than offend their Maker. If the sovereign were to order them to slay their parents or their children, or to cease from worshipping their God, would they obey? Why then do they murder their brethren at his command?

It is impossible for one to be christian as a man, and yet unchristian as a subject; and he who has truly learned the subjugation of his passions, and the duties of his being, will not be capable of slaughtering a fellow creature, even though he be styled a "*public enemy*." He will feel that by enlisting into the army or navy, by fighting

* Acts v. 29.

against his brethren, he not only burdens his own soul with sin, but increases the *national transgression of the state*. Let no one imagine for a moment, therefore, that he is absolved from his debt to his Maker, by entering into society, or by acting in union with others. Human commands form but a vain subterfuge for the commission of crime ; and at that day when all men shall appear before the judgment-seat of God—when the peasant and the sovereign shall bow down in equal humility, do we believe that the Omnipotent Ruler of the universe, the King of kings, will admit of such an excuse for the violation of Divine laws ?

SECTION 4.—*Disregard of Man's Nature.*

Another cause of insensibility to the evils of war, is our blindness to the dignity and claims of human nature. The earth has been given as a temporary habitation for millions of human beings, who have one Creator, one Father, one God. We perform our weary pilgrimage together ; together we traverse the path of life ; together we enter the portals of death. We are exposed to like infirmities, and like hopes ; the world forms one vast family, and a universal brotherhood should reign. “ Have we not all one Father ; hath not one God created us ? Why do we deal treacherously, every man against his brother, by profaning the

covenant of his fathers?"* We are brethren. The poor, the humble, the barbarous, and the heathen, are all connected by ties the most indisputable and lasting, to the wealthy, the powerful, the civilized, and the Christian. Neither mountain, nor ocean, nor race, nor language, nor creed, nor colour, can break this chain ; for the soul gives man the impress of his Maker, and stamps at once his common lineage from the Divine Parent, his right to a brother's title and a brother's affection.

" Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity !"† In a private family, discord converts the happy home into an abode of misery ; how much more destructive of happiness, and extensive in its consequences, is the strife of a world !

And shall we not spare a brother ? Can we inflict a needless pang on one who, subject to equal sufferings with ourselves, demands compassion and assistance ? Can we stain our hands and burden our souls with a brother's blood ? *War is nothing less than one vast fratricide !* Well might Milton exclaim—

" O what are these ?

Death's ministers, not men ! who thus deal death
Inhumanly to man : *and multiply*
Ten thousand fold the sin of him who slew
His brother ; for of whom such massacre
Make they, but of *their brethren, men of men ?*"

* Mal. ii. 10.

† Psalm cxxxiii. 1.

The physical formation of man in itself should be sufficient to negative the idea that he was intended for strife. He comes into the world weak and powerless. The first lesson he is taught is that of dependence upon others. He is formed with every capacity for social life. The friendship of two human beings is a source of much gratification ; the friendship, the Christian friendship of the whole family of man would produce the very highest state of mortal happiness.

The human body is consecrated to the Almighty, as it is the tenement for a while of the Spirit : “ Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.” “ The body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ ? What ? know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own ? For ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God’s.”*

It is not physical, it is not social man that should so powerfully arrest our attention, as the moral and intellectual being we see before us. Man is made in the image, and after the likeness

* 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17 ; and vi. 13 to 20 ; and see Rom. xiv. 7, 8.

of his Maker ; he possesses the divine qualities of spirituality, reason, freedom of will, and immortality ; he is formed “ a little lower than the angels, and crowned with honour and glory.” Well might the Jewish command against shedding blood, go forth in connection with the reason, that “ in the image of God made he man.” The soul of man was moulded by the Divine hands, and possesses faculties of a sublime and lasting nature. Christianity, by establishing the claim of man to immortality, has displayed him as a favoured child of the Almighty, as a being of value in His sight, and an object of his special care,—as one worthy even of the life and death of Jesus. The promise of an eternity beyond the grave, while it should make us endure any affliction rather than risk heavenly bliss, should also create within us a deep reverence for our fellow men, who, like ourselves, can never die. This doctrine has declared *that life is sacred, and that death is followed by infinite consequences.* It is the prerogative of the Almighty alone, to summon hence that spirit which he gave for an allotted period ; and the human creature that dares to invade with guilty and polluted touch the sanctity of life, assumes the Divine privilege, and commits the most horrible of all treason,—treason against God ! Enlightened and instructed Christians should acknowledge that the *future welfare of an individual* is of

greater importance than the preservation of a city, or the temporal prosperity of a nation.

— “The cloud capp’d tow’rs, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea ! all which it inherit, shall dissolve,”

But—

“The soul, immortal as its Sire,
Shall never die !”

How reckless of the future must that man be, who can rush into the presence of his Maker in the midst of human blood and crime ! What an insult is shown to the works of God in the conflict of battle, when thousands of souls are dismissed before their appointed time, and, worst of all, are dismissed in sin to receive eternal judgment.

Impious man ! You dare to send the spirit of a brother to perdition ! You are destroying the semblance of your Maker ! You are sacrificing the child in the presence of its Father ! You cannot recreate the body, nor breathe life into the pallid and bleeding form : but, above all, *you* cannot restore those holy faculties which were given for the service of God, and the benefit of man ; *you* cannot recall the soul you have plunged into eternity !

It has been truly said, “We know not the worth of a man. We know not *who* the victims are on whom war plants its foot,—whom the conqueror leaves to the vulture on the field of

battle, or carries captive to grace his triumph. Oh! did we know what men are, did we see in them the spiritual, immortal children of God, what a voice should we lift against war! How indignantly, how sorrowfully should we invoke Heaven and earth to right our insulted, injured brethren!”*

“The *visible* effects of the far-famed battle of Waterloo,” observes another forcible writer, “were sufficiently appalling. Multitudes of the wounded, the dying and the dead, spread in wild confusion over the ensanguined plain! But did the Christians fully know the *invisible* consequences of such a contest—could they trace the flight of thousands of immortal souls (many of them disembodied, perhaps, while under the immediate influence of diabolical passions) into the world of eternal retribution—they would indeed shrink with horror from such a scene of destruction.”†

* Channing on War, p. 34.

† “Essay on Lawfulness of War under the Christian Dispensation,” by Joseph John Gurney, p. 21.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES OF A WANT OF ACTIVE EXERTION
AGAINST WAR.

SECONDLY—That class of professing Christians who assert that they are sensible to the evils of war, support their unwillingness to use any active exertion, chiefly from their expectation that the Millennium, whose most prominent feature is universal peace, will be brought about by a miracle.

Thus Christians once thought that the heathen would be converted without any instrumentality of theirs ; they slumbered while millions of unfortunate fellow creatures were descending to the grave, without ever having heard of a Saviour.

The church at length awoke from its lethargy : it felt that the Almighty works his glorious changes by man, that it is the essence of human duty to *perform* the will of God, and that Christians must be his active instruments in every good work. The happiest results have followed their exertions, whether we regard missionary enterprise, or the moral crusades against slavery and intemperance. Yet exactly the same excuse might have been urged in these cases, as that which is brought against activity in the promotion of pacific doctrines. “The abolition of war will

not be the effect of any sudden or resistless visitation from heaven on the character of men,—not of any mystical influence working with all the omnipotence of a charm on the passive hearts of those who are the subjects of it,—not of any blind or overruling fatality which will come upon the earth at some distant period of its history, and about which we of the present day have nothing to do but to look silently on without concern and without co-operation. It will be brought about by the activity of men. It will be done by the philanthropy of thinking Christians. The subject will be brought to the test of Christian principle; the public will be enlightened by the mild dissemination of gospel sentiments through the land.”

Such are the inducements which urge us towards that period, when the will of our Father “shall be done on earth as it is in heaven.” Whoever adopts the principles of the Gospel to their full extent, already in himself enjoys the promised blessings; to *him* the Millennium has come, for peace and happiness form a heaven within his own breast. Let us not then be deceived, for the Almighty will not receive so pitiful an excuse, as the expectation of a miracle, for the criminal neglect of his creatures.

The fact is, that this class of Christians become weary in well doing; they have *felt* sympathy for

the cause of peace, but have not *acted*, or acted insufficiently in its favour. "The end of all feeling is, or ought to be, *action*;" and unless we convert our impressions into practice, they become each moment weaker, until they are entirely effaced.

There are many other obstacles and objections which we shall notice, as they unfold themselves, in the course of this work. Sufficient has been premised to command the *attention* of Christians.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION 1.—*Physical Evils of War.*

ALL civilized nations seem to allow that war is an *evil*. It is true, that sometimes by its means a despotism has been destroyed, a tyrant has been taken from the earth, but these are merely incidental benefits, while the necessary fruits are crime and misery. There is probably no unmixed evil in the universe, and such benefits as these may attend an assassination, yet we do not praise an assassin. When Doctor Johnson was told of Lord Kaimes's opinion, that war was occasionally beneficial, as so much valour and virtue were exhibited in it, he replied—"A fire might as well be

thought a good thing : there is the bravery and address of the firemen in extinguishing it ; there is much humanity exerted in saving the lives and properties of the poor sufferers. Yet, after all this, who can say that a fire is a good thing ?”

We shall not attempt to describe the *physical* evils of war. They would fill a thousand volumes, and the details would create only loathing and disgust. Let those who are anxious to see this monstrous feature of war, read any account of a battle in a journal or history. Such scenes neither require, nor admit of, a heightened colouring ; the mere simple narration of itself is too horrible. It will be impossible for one who has perused Labaume’s narrative of the campaign in Russia during the year 1812,* ever to hear of war without a shudder. A brief extract will show the character of that expedition.

When Moscow had been fired by the Russians, and the French army marched into the burning capital, a sight dreadful to any but soldiers, met their view. “On one side,” says the narrator, “we saw a son carrying a sick father ; on the other, women, who poured the torrent of their tears on the infants whom they clasped in their arms ; old men, overwhelmed more by grief than by the weight of years, were seldom able to follow

* This narrative is translated by Evān Rees, and forms the fifth tract of the Peace Society.

their families; many of them weeping for the ruin of their country, laid down to die, near the houses where they were born.* The hospitals, containing more than *twelve thousand wounded*, began to burn. The heart, frozen with horror, recoils at the fatal disaster which ensued. *Almost all these wretched victims perished!*" The city was then given up to pillage, and "to all the excesses of lust were added the highest depravity and debauchery. No respect was paid to the nobility of blood, the innocence of youth, or to the tears of beauty. This cruel licentiousness was the consequence of a savage war, in which sixteen united nations, differing in language and manners, thought themselves at liberty to commit every crime, in the persuasion that their disorders would be attributed to one nation alone."†

We cannot refrain from adding a brief account of the more modern attack upon St. Jean d'Acre, by the British, on the third of November, 1840. After a cannonading of about two hours, "a sen-

* Compare with this the destruction of Alba, so eloquently described by Livy, lib. i.

† "The French troops, as they poured into the devoted city, had spread themselves in every direction in search of plunder, and in their progress they committed outrages so horrid on the persons of all whom they discovered, that fathers, desperate to save their children from pollution, would set fire to their places of refuge, and find a surer asylum in the flames. The streets, the houses, the cellars, flowed with blood, and were filled with violation and carnage."—*Porter's Narrative*, p. 170.

sation was felt on board the ships, similar to that of an earthquake, which was subsequently ascertained to have been a tremendous explosion of a powder magazine ashore, launching into eternity no less than twelve hundred of the enemy." . . . After the surrender of the town, the narrator thus continues,—“On landing, the place known to be strong, was found even still more so than what was conceived, and thanks may be returned to the Almighty, that this stronghold of the enemy has not cost the allies a greater loss of life. The town is one mass of ruins; the batteries and most of the houses literally riddled all over; the killed and wounded lying about in all directions; lifeless trunks cut asunder; some without heads, others without legs and arms. Hundreds dying from the blood flowing from their wounds, and no one near to help them. The scene was truly awful!” “The scene presented by the town,” says another, “is indescribably horrible; the whole neighbourhood of the explosion being a mass of killed and wounded, men and beasts tossed together indiscriminately. It is ascertained that twenty thousand shot and shell were fired into the town in four hours.”

Three days had not elapsed since this “glorious triumph,” the British were still rejoicing at their success, when “a column at least five hundred yards in height, of thick yellow smoke and dust,

with a loud and simultaneous report, succeeded by a white smoke, and the bursting of as many as one thousand shells, spreading in all directions far beyond and all around the ships of the fleet, announced the explosion of another powder magazine within the fortress of Acre! The maimed and wounded, together with the killed, are said to amount to two hundred and eighty, of whom at least one hundred and fifty are native women and children.”*

SECTION 2.—*Moral Evils of War.*

The chief evil of war, however, is *moral* evil. Fearful tortures, the destruction of mighty cities, the slaughter of men like beasts, the sorrow of the widow and the fatherless,—for

“ Scarce a corpse can strew the ground,
But leaves some heart to bleed ”—

poverty, famine, pestilence, are among the incidents to war. Blood forms the track; desolation hovers around; gloom and ruin threaten in the distant prospect. But there exist other powers destructive to life, and capable of inflicting anguish. The tempest lays waste the smiling lands, and hurries the voyager to the ocean’s tomb; the

* See the Herald of Peace for January 1841.—The reader is referred also to the Wars of the Jews, as described by Josephus.

earth opens one vast grave, and sepulchres the living within her breast ; the volcano hurls desolation far and wide.

The difference between these sources of destruction and of war, is, that the former are ordained by the mysterious agency of Providence. *War proceeds from human crime !* It is not that on the battle field, death is the consequence to so many ; but it is that death is caused by every degrading and brutalizing passion. It is not that man is slain, but that he is slain by his brother man. Painful it is indeed to behold a human being, in the full vigour of manhood, writhing in the agonies of a cruel death, endeavouring to stay the life's blood which eagerly flows forth, and grasping the earth with convulsive emotions, while his angry spirit breaks forth in piteous groans ; but, oh ! how much more dreadful to reflect on the murder by which these sufferings were inflicted ! We cannot endure to hear the cries of the expiring soldier, but it requires greater powers of endurance to bear the thought that they are mingled with curses on a brother, from whom he received his death-wound. The struggle between man and man is fearful ; but more fearful is the thought, that it is the manifestation of every species of depravity and corruption struggling within the human breast.

The suffering from Above is ever for some wise purpose, and frequently bears salvation on its

gloomy wings. The pangs of affliction, while they sear the heart, yet elevate and purify the soul; grief calls forth sympathy, and while it connects man to man, binds him also more closely to his Maker. "No chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby."* The death-bed of a loved and Christian friend, is a scene not easily effaced from the tablet of memory; but the recollection, though painful, bears with it a soothing and beneficial power. We call to mind the repentance that dwelt within his breast, the prayer that issued from his lips, the sure and holy confidence, and the exalted hopes, which religion alone can inspire; we remember that the spirit fled in peace, leaving the earthly frame calm and pleasing as a sleeping infant. Sorrow is softened by recollections like these. Every bad passion is laid to rest; every thought is chastened and hallowed; and we feel how good a thing it is to live and die a holy man.

Turn to the dead soldier. His features contorted by every violent impulse, his frame covered with gore and gashes, his hands clenched and teeth fixed, tell of the angry tumult, the impious conflict both within his breast and around him, in which that man bade farewell to life. There is no

* Hebrews xii. 11; and see 2 Cor. vii. 10.

sign here of resignation, of peace, or of confidence. We turn away with disgust. How different is death from the hand of Providence and from the hand of man !

It is death in both instances. The tyrant has hurled his dart ; but against a portion of his victims he has little power,—the sting is taken away : to others the weapon is doubly piercing,—it is envenomed with the most deadly poison, a brother's hatred. It is death in both cases ; in the one, how peaceful, how serene ; as if the spirit, prescient of its destined home, had escaped with delight : in the other, how frightful and deformed, for the soldier falls surrounded by angry and tumultuous passions, and thus plunges into the dark and threatening future !

It is death equally before us. This scene calls forth meditation of an exalted and grateful character ; the finest chords of our hearts are touched, and, meeting with a ready response, they make sweet harmony within the breast. But from the victim to fratricidal hate, we turn with shuddering and horror, humiliated and degraded beings.

Thus death is loaded with increased terrors, and sorrow is deprived of her true and proper office. " War adds to suffering the unutterable weight of crime, and defeats the holy and blessed ministry which all suffering is intended to fulfil. The terrible thought is, that the awful amount of suffering

which war has inflicted, has been the work of crime; that men, whose great law is love, have been one another's butchers; that God's children have stained his beautiful earth, made beautiful for their home, with one another's blood; that the shriek which comes to us from all regions and ages, has been extorted by human cruelty; that man has been a demon, and has turned earth into hell."*

Yes! war is chiefly a moral evil, in origin, in nature, and in fruits.

It is the offspring of our basest passions, unilluminated by one single ray of reason, unrelieved by one principle of justice. "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?"† This is their source. They come from those degrading propensities which reason was given to check, which free-will was allotted to guide, but, above all, which Christianity was sent to counteract.

War is one grand crime: It is the concentration of all crime, enlisting under its ensanguined banners, murder, rapine, revenge, hatred, lust, cruelty, avarice, injustice and treachery. It is not only a violation of the decrees of Heaven, but it absolutely repeals every Divine law. There is not a commandment in the whole Decalogue, that

* Channing on War.

† James iv. 1.

it does not infringe. "War," says Dr. Chalmers, "reverses, with respect to its objects, all the rules of morality. It is nothing less than a temporary repeal of all the principles of virtue. It is a system out of which almost all the virtues are excluded, and in which nearly all the vices are included."

The consequences of war are not only opposed to the life and happiness of man, but are also *destructive to the soul*, by scorching every pure fountain, repressing every good emotion, inflaming the worst qualities, and exciting the most evil tendencies.

By the existence of this curse, the reign of passion is perpetuated; for every survivor in a conquered country feels revenge and hatred against the conquerors, and he probably leaves these unchristian qualities as an inheritance to his children. The world, by such ingredients, is formed into one vast theatre for the exhibition of human infamy, and human suffering.

CHAPTER IV.

ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS FROM THE OLD
TESTAMENT.

It is difficult to discover why so extraordinary a preference has been shown for war by those who derive a plea for its continuance from the example of the Israelites, as polygamy and circumcision might be supported by a parity of reasoning.

SECTION I.—To answer at any length the objections which are drawn from this source, would be only a waste of time and space.* Were we addressing a nation of Jews, we should probably rely on that law which they would consider binding; but no Christian can regard any authority of equal obligation with the Gospel. And were this not the case, the arguments drawn from the Old Testament are of such a nature that they would require but very little attention. It is sufficient for us to say, first, that the patriarchs evidently are not to be considered as *perfect* models for our imitation; and secondly, that the wars of the Jews were by no means of an ordinary nature; that they were undertaken under special circumstances, and attended by incidents peculiar to themselves. Any reader of their venerable history will at once

* See Note B, in Appendix.

admit that the Israelites received, or professed to receive (and either admission is sufficient for this purpose) an *express* command from Heaven to slay certain nations celebrated for their impiety,—that religious ceremonies were mixed up with these wars,—and that invariable success awaited the children of Israel.

SECTION 2.—The clearest distinction, therefore, prevails between the battles of the Israelites, and those of modern date; but even were they parallel, the rule to be applied to them is expressly changed by the words of Jesus himself, who, in his most conclusive precepts against all war, has drawn a marked contrast between his rule of conduct and that delivered by Moses.

Many relaxations in discipline had been allowed to the Jews “for the hardness of their hearts;” but the Almighty now condescended to bless man with a surer guide and a less erring rule of life.

The prophet Isaiah described this alteration when he gave as the words of the Almighty—“Behold I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind.”* Moses had been a wise legislator and a skilful leader, but a far more perfect example was presented by Jesus. “The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.”†

* Isa. lxv. 17.

† John i. 17.

One charge against Stephen was, that he had said, "Jesus would change the customs which Moses had delivered."* Paul declares "there is verily a disannulling of the commandment going before for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof. For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did ; by the which we draw nigh unto God."†

In few instances is the superiority of the second dispensation more clearly shown than in the abrogation of those laws which had sanctioned revenge and aggression under the specious names of retaliation and resistance.

CHAPTER V.

PROPHECIES AND EVENTS PREVIOUS TO THE COMING OF JESUS.

WE shall now endeavour to prove that all war, both offensive and defensive, is opposed to the Christian religion. In support of this proposition, we shall adduce, first, the prophecies relating to peace, in connection with the kingdom of Jesus ;

* Acts vi. 14.

† Hebrews vii. 18, 19 ; and see *ibid.* viii. 6, 7, 13 ; and *ibid.* x. 1, 16 ; and Gal. iii. 24.

secondly, the spirit of Christianity ; thirdly, the letter of Christianity, including the precepts and example of Jesus, together with the writings and acts of his disciples ; and fourthly, the opinions and practice of the primitive Christians, with regard to war, for the three centuries immediately succeeding the death of our Lord.

The prophecies relating to Jesus declare that the prevailing features of his character shall be humility, meekness, forgiveness, endurance, and mercy ; while universal and lasting peace shall form the principal quality of his kingdom.

“ And it shall come to pass in the last days (in the days of Christendom*) that the mountain of the Lord’s house (his Christian kingdom) shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills ; and all nations shall flow unto it ; and many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths : for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people, (“ work conviction in many people,” according to Bishop Lowth’s translation :) and *they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks : nation shall not*

* See “ Discourses on the Millennium.” By the Rev. David Bogue.

lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."* The prophet Micah repeats exactly the same prediction, and adds, "But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree ; and *none shall make them afraid : for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it.*"†

This last passage calls to mind the words of Zechariah : "In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig tree."‡ The "last days," mentioned by Isaiah, are the days of the Messiah, according to the interpretation of the Jews ; while all Christian commentators are unanimous in referring the prophecy to the Christian dispensation.

Could language be stronger ? The fruits of agriculture shall be substituted for the ravages of war ; plenty shall smile, where desolation frowned ; warlike weapons shall be converted into instruments of industry—to nourish, not to take away life ; the very art of destroying shall no longer be remembered, but peace, blessed peace, shall scatter happiness, security, and prosperity to every nation on the face of the earth. This picture, so opposed to the preconceived notions and habits of men, naturally makes them exclaim against its reality ; but the prophet Micah, foreseeing their incredulity, has declared that peace would triumph—"for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

* Isaiah ii. 2—4.

† Micah iv. 1—4.

‡ Zech. iii. 10.

“Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth.”* Thus David, rapt in the spirit of prophecy, exclaims, “He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire.” And speaking of the results of Christianity in directing the human passions, “Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain; and mercy shall be built up for ever; thy faithfulness shalt thou establish in the very heavens; justice and judgment are the habitation of thy throne: mercy and truth shall go before thy face. Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance. In thy name shall they rejoice all the day: and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted.”†

“The people that walked in darkness have seen

* Zechariah ix. 9, 10.

† Psalm xlv. 9; lxxvi. 10; and lxxxix. 2, 14—16.

a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, *the Prince of Peace*. Of the increase of his government *and peace* there shall be no end.”* “And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots: With righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity *for the meek* of the earth.”† “In his days shall the righteous flourish; *and abundance of peace* so long as the moon endureth. All kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him. For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper. *He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence*: and precious shall their blood be in his sight. Men shall be blessed in him: all nations shall call him blessed.”‡ “The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play

* Isa. ix. 2, 6, 7.

† Isa. xi. 1, 4.

‡ Ps. lxxii.

on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain : for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."* Behold the universal harmony of God's creation, promised as a fruit of that blessed religion whose herald is "The Prince of Peace." A little child shall tame the wolf, the leopard, and the lion, for Omnipotence will be its shield. Man, creation's lord, shall give the example of peacefulness, which is to be followed by the whole race of inferior animals. The promise of tranquillity as the result of *a victory over human passions*, is faithfully expressed by the change in beasts from ferocity to gentleness ; but the following words mark even more strongly the connection : "*And the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever.*"

"How beautiful upon the mountains are *the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace* ; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation ; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth."† "Peace, peace to him that is far off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord ; and I will heal him. There is no peace, saith my

* Isa. xi. 5—9 ; and see words to the same effect, Isa. lxxv. 25 ; and Ezekiel xxxiv. 25 to 31 ; Hosea ii. 18 ; Habakkuk ii. 14.

† Isaiah lii. 7, 10.

God, to the wicked.”* “For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be : the *meek* shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves *in the abundance of peace*.”† The prophet, speaking of the office of Jesus, observes, “The Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek ; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. . . . To comfort all that mourn. For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth ; so the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations.”‡ And the royal Psalmist thus addresses the Saviour, “In thy majesty ride prosperously, because of *truth and meekness* and righteousness.”§

Universal peace in these, and many other passages, is promised in the most glowing and faithful colours, as an essential incident to the Christian kingdom. Clear proof is thus afforded of the inconsistency of war with the religion so eloquently depicted, and of the absurd contradiction offered by every nation, which, professing the faith of Jesus, yet engages in the work of destruction.

“The inspired writers describe this complete

* Isa. lvii. 19, 21. † Psa. xxxvii. 10, 11. ‡ Isa. lxi. 1, 2, 11.

§ Psa. xlv. 4. See many other like passages in the Psalms and prophecies, which our space forbids us to give at length.

and uninterrupted peaceableness, as a distinguishing feature of the dispensation under which Christians are living,—as the result of obedience to that law which they are at all times bound to follow; and we may therefore infer, that if the true nature of the Christian dispensation were fully understood, and if the law by which it is regulated were exactly obeyed, a conversion to our holy religion, or the cordial and serious holding of it, would be universally accompanied with an entire abstinence from warfare. Thus the prevalence of the law of peace would be found commensurate, in every age of the church, with the *actual* extent of the Messiah's kingdom over men.”*

Christianity and peace are to appear hand in hand, as a mother and her child; for peace is the offspring of true religion. The existence of the one is to be co-extensive, co-eternal with that of the other; and every infraction of tranquillity, that blissful tranquillity, told of by the prophets, inflicts a lamentable wound upon our faith.

A Messiah was not only expected by the Jews, but it was also the general idea among the heathen world that some extraordinary conqueror or deliverer would soon appear in Judæa.† A sibylline prophecy prevailed on this subject; and in the paraphrase of it by Virgil, there is an ener-

* “ Essay on War.” By Joseph Gurney, p. 8.

† Tac. Hist. lib. v. cap. xiii. Suet. in Vita Besp. c. iv.

getic and forcible description of the peace about to visit the earth.* The poet's language so strongly resembles that of Isaiah, that their ideas have been placed side by side, and together have been expressed in English verse.†

The following lines contain some of the future blessings promised by the prophet, the sibyl, and the poet :

“ All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail ;
 Returning justice lift alone the scale.
 Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend,
 And white rob'd innocence from heaven descend.

* * * * *

No sigh, no murmur the wide world shall hear ;
 From every face he wipes off every tear.
 No more shall nation against nation rise,
 Nor ardent warriors meet with hateful eyes,
 Nor fields with gleaming steel be covered o'er,
 The brazen trumpet kindle rage no more ;
 But useless lances into scythes shall bend,
 And the broad falchion in a ploughshare end.
 Their vines a shadow to their race shall yield,
 And the same hand that sowed shall reap the field.
 The lambs with wolves shall graze the verdant mead,
 And boys in flowery bands the tiger lead.”

Thus did the Almighty condescend to inspire some of his favoured creatures with a gleam of the future, in order to prepare the minds of the benighted for holy and happy changes. Too long had the world groaned beneath an Alexander and

* See Note C, in Appendix.

† See the “ Messiah,” by Pope.

a Cæsar; too long had the earth been stained with blood; too long had the violent passions been uncontrolled; and now the Lord “looked down from the height of his sanctuary; from heaven did the Lord behold the earth; to hear the groaning of the prisoner; to loose those that are appointed to death.”*

An opportunity was offered to man of regarding happiness in its true light,—of turning from the iniquitous and revolting scenes which had so long disgraced his race, and of enjoying the blessings of tranquil security. One picture had been before his eyes for ages: it was a representation of blood and crime. But at this period a new subject was depicted: the inspired prophets first drew the sketch, and Jesus himself filled up the outline. The heaven-extracted colours of the rainbow, the tints of the setting sun, are the symbols of peace; but it is only the softened tone of religion that can impart its true character.

At the time of our Lord’s coming, a profound tranquillity reigned throughout the whole Roman empire; and as a proof it, the temple of Janus was closed,—a happy circumstance that had not occurred since the reign of Numa Pompilius, or for the space of seven hundred years. Nature instituted one *universal sabbath* to receive the Prince of Peace; and the exhortation of the Psalmist to the

* Psalm cii. 19, 20.

creation, met with obedience: "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad; let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof. Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein: then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice before the Lord: for he cometh, for he cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth."*

Before our Saviour's birth, the favoured mother, as if inspired with a prophetic power, described the blessings approaching from the heavens. "His mercy is on them that fear him, from generation to generation. He hath showed strength with his arm, *he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.* He hath put down the mighty from their seats; and exalted them of low degree *to give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.*"†

Immediately after the birth of Jesus, an angel of the Lord appeared to a group of shepherds with the blissful intelligence, "Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of *great joy*, which shall be *to all people*. For unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." At these words, the whole angelic throng burst forth into a hymn of praise, and sang, in joyful concert—" *Glory to God in the*

* Psalm xcvi. 11—13.

† Luke i. 50.

*highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men !”**

In this expressive hymn are contained the object and results of the religion of Jesus :—“ Glory to God ;”—Glory to Him who has made and who will preserve mankind ; who has rescued his creatures from the tyranny of sin, and has offered them the joys of salvation. Give glory to Him by reverencing his works, especially that child formed to worship his Father, and to live for purposes great and lasting. Glory to Him, not only by prayer, by thanksgiving, by love and faith, but also by practice, by doing good to all men, by injuring none, by works of charity, beneficence, and philanthropy, well knowing that the Almighty is pleased to see his children happy, and to behold the dictates of piety exerted to their benefit.

“ Peace on earth, good-will toward men.”—Away with hatred, strife, and bloodshed ;—these are not the promises of the angels ; these are not the fruits of Christianity ; for these Jesus neither lived nor died.

John the Baptist now appeared. “ Every valley,” he cried, “ shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low ; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth ; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.”†

* Luke ii. 10, 11, 14.

† Luke iii. 5, 6.

While dispensing charitable precepts, a circumstance occurred whence an argument against our proposition has been deduced;* for when the soldiers asked of John, "What shall we do?" he answered, "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages."† This is an extraordinary sentence for the support of murder, deceit, and robbery. It is difficult to say how they could persevere in war without doing violence;‡ and if it be said that the words—"be content with your wages," encourage the practice of war, then they also encourage the idolatry, and the oppression and cruelty, which were practised in pagan Rome.

But even allowing this passage to have its utmost weight, and to refer merely to the soldiers' conduct among their allies and companions, yet it by no means affords a plea for modern warfare.

In the first place, the question as to the *lawfulness* of war not being put to John, he was not invited to give any decision on the subject. Disinclined probably to interfere with civil matters, he merely offered advice which might invest them with a gentle and orderly demeanour, and might

* Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. i. c. ii. s. 7, 5. Paley's Moral Philosophy, c. xii.

† Luke iii. 14.

‡ See Barclay's Apology, prop. 15. s. 15.

tend to soften the asperities of that profession in which he supposed his auditors would continue. If it be asked why he did not profit by the opportunity to preach against war, it may as reasonably be inquired, why he did not lay open the crimes of polygamy, the worship of idols, and that horrible licentiousness which prevailed in a Roman camp?

Secondly, an answer may be at once given to this objection by simply urging that we are to obey Christ and not John. We should remember, that though he proclaimed the approach of Jesus, yet that John the Baptist did not belong to his kingdom.* He was the last prophet under the old law, and his code of morals was, perhaps, formed according to the Jewish institutions.

And now our Lord himself appeared among mankind.

The Jews expected a Messiah who should be their temporal ruler and their monarch. They looked for one, who, as a warrior and a chieftain, should lead them forth to victory over their oppressive enemies, and, by his consummate skill, should trample every hostile people under their feet. He was to marshal numerous hosts under his triumphant banner, and by the sword to conquer the world. Their Saviour was to be clothed in purple, to wear the crown of gold or of

* Matt. xi. 11 ; Luke iii. 16 ; and xvi. 16.

laurel, and to be surrounded by the insignia of royalty.

The Messiah came. Apparently the offspring of humble parents, he first saw the light in a wretched stable. No destructive tempest, no earthquake, ushered in his birth;—all was calm. A hymn of peace, sang by angels to a group of shepherds, proclaimed his approach. His mission was not to excite the evil passions of man, but to lay them at rest, and to summon into action the moral and intellectual faculties. He never raised the war-cry, nor joined in the shout of victory, but taught man to pray, to meditate, to offer hymns of praise. No city, surrounded by embattled walls, no stately palace, welcomed him as its possessor: he had not where to lay his head. The crown of royalty never graced his brows: a crown of thorns was fixed there in cruel mockery, but a halo of glory, surpassing the brightest gems, and fading not away, was also there. By him no sword was grasped; but in his hand waved the olive branch of peace.

Princes and kings bowed not before his throne; nor did captives swell his triumphant march. He was “despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised and we esteemed him not . . . He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities,

the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. He was oppressed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgment; he was cut off out of the land of the living, and made his grave with the wicked and with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.”* Yes! he was not found expiring in the moment of a bloody triumph over his foes: he suffered, for the sake of his enemies, as a malefactor, a cruel and ignominious death upon the cross.

But, oh! what victory like his? He subdued the *vices* of mankind, and led captive their *passions*. He gave freedom to the heart, the mind, the soul, and delivered from their gloomy prison the slaves of sin. Instead of destroying life, he gave it, here and hereafter. *He gained the victory over death.*

Jesus was himself the spirit of peace. Prophecies, ages before his arrival, angels at his birth, told of peace. His life, though spent amidst bloodthirsty men, and though a sacrifice to impiety, was in itself harmonious and tranquil. His doctrines breathe peaceful bliss in this world, and in the world to come. His last miracle was

* Isaiah liii. 3, 5, 7—9.

in reproof of violence, and in commendation of pacific principles to their fullest extent: his last words were for that peace to his foes they had denied to him: his death was tranquil, though surrounded by stormy and angry feelings; and the first words he used after his resurrection were, "Peace be unto you."

CHAPTER VI.

SPIRIT OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

SECTION 1.—*Duty to God.*

THE most convenient manner of viewing the nature of Christianity, as it bears on this subject, will be—first, its result in teaching man his duty to the Almighty; and secondly, in showing him his duty to himself, and his brother man.

The Christian dispensation has dispelled many errors with regard to the Divine attributes, and has given much truer notions than could have been obtained by any other means.

Revelation confirms the lessons of nature. What harmony and union are perceptible throughout creation! Numberless spheres, impressed by the will of Omnipotence, roll onwards in their course,

each ministering to the other, and forming one connected system.

“Look round our world ; behold the chain of love
Combining all below and all above :
See plastic nature working to this end,
The single atoms each to other tend,
Attract, attracted to, the next in place
Formed and impelled its neighbour to embrace.
See matter next, with various life endued,
Press to one centre still, the general good.”*

The sun performs his daily course, dispensing light and life around. Brightly does he colour the scenes so fair from nature’s hand, and liberally does he extend his fostering influence. He shines alike on the dark and the fair, on the weak and the powerful. He sinks before our eyes in calmness and in silence, creating in the observer feelings of a soothing, if melancholy, nature. He fades away as a Christian would wish to die.

The pure light of the moon succeeds, and visits with equal radiance the hovel of the labourer, and the castle of the lord. There is no exclusion, no hatred in nature !

Behold the azure curtain spread above us ! It is bright and unsullied ; and even the threatening storm that may roll darkly across the surface, and excite the elements to violence, performs a ministry of good ; corrupt and pestilential vapours are

* “ Essay on Man,” by Pope. Epist. 3.

driven from the earth; a health-bearing atmosphere succeeds; the dark clouds being dispelled, the blue of heaven is clearer than ever; and the skies are encircled by the gorgeous rainbow,—the covenant of peace and of security.

The earth is a dwelling of beauty, and was intended to gratify the sense, and minister to the pleasures of man. How strongly is mercy blended with Divine power! Oh! that it were also the companion of human strength! The soaring mountain, the humble valley, the verdant plain, the river, now sparkling in light, now contrasting its gloomy shade, the aged tree, the modest flower, the brook and the ocean, all demand our love and our reverence. Do we display veneration for these inestimable gifts, when we lay waste the fruitful lands with fire and sword; when we mingle with the crystal stream the blood of human beings, and crimson the green field with the gore of a slaughtered brother? The impious hand of man deforms that beauty which is but a reflection of its Maker, and dares brand with crime even the brow of nature.

Behold! it is a summer's day; tinted clouds are floating through the air; clear waters are gleaming with the brightness of silver; the flowers emulate the splendour above them, and offer their fragrance as a grateful incense; the merry birds with swelling notes are carolling a strain of

joy; *all nature smiles!* And shall the lord of these things, man, alone be suffering torture in body and in mind, by the conflict of passions and the excitement of crime. Forbid it, humanity! Forbid it, religion!

The beauties of nature were spread before our eyes for a far different purpose. They were to elevate and civilize mankind. When we contemplate one of those rich scenes which are so frequently to be met with in this world, we are apt to be charmed by pleasing and tender emotions: calmness and tranquillity steal over our minds, and all evil dictates seem for a time to have lost their power. This is the true office, this the assigned influence of those pictures which are sketched by nature's hand, and it is sacrilege to violate their beauty and their purity.

No greater proof, however, of Divine compassion could have been given, than the Christian religion itself. The very circumstance of the All-wise and All-powerful having pitied the blindness and suffering and sin of man, and having sent his beloved Son to redeem them from transgression, to offer them salvation, to *die* for them, contains such abundant evidence of infinite love and mercy, that it should at once excite sentiments of the deepest gratitude, and of the sincerest affection. Well might the Apostle express the perfection of the Almighty, by assigning to him one attribute, which is in

truth divine, and which is displayed in every work from above : “ *God is love !*”

Love—pure, exalted love—free from all selfish, interested alloy, darkened neither by hatred nor caprice ; such is the attribute which pertains to God. The fair spirit of love is enthroned in the heavens, and there lives, a principle omnipotent, an element divine. She dwells with the Almighty in brightness and eternity ; her music is the hymn of praise from the angelic host, or the prayer of lowly gratitude from the human heart. Divine love, present at the world’s creation, formed the earth a paradise, breathed life into man, and made him almost equal to an angel : she preserves the spheres in harmony, and marks out the soul’s progress to immortal bliss. Her voice has been heard on earth through the Saviour of mankind, who left her power to us as a glorious inheritance—as an essential quality of his religion ; and who ever impressed upon us the value of that sublime love, which, soaring to our God, at the same time embraces our fellow men, even our enemies. Alas ! how has her purity been contaminated by the influence of human passions !

The pity and mercy of God are placed in a conspicuous light by the Christian faith. Hence we learn that he has reserved us for a brighter sphere than this, and has destined our short sufferings

here, to be the price of an eternity of bliss. He is shown as “the Father of mercies,”* and “the God of all comfort and consolation,”† “not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.”‡

His mercy is everlasting, and his compassion is of that nature described by the Psalmist: “Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.” How can he then take pleasure in the cruelty, and hatred, and thirst for destruction manifested by man towards his fellow creatures? The Father in heaven pities, even as an earthly father, his children, for pity is a ray of divinity sent to bless mankind.

Let us then suppose a parent with a numerous and a happy family. He delights to behold his offspring tending to his honour, and living so as to reflect praise upon the author of their being. He loves them, and is beloved by them; and that affection exists which is afforded by a parent’s sympathy and a child’s gratitude. Suddenly his children allow their passions to overcome their better dictates; anger flushes every countenance; each nerve is strained to violence; they grasp destructive weapons, and a terrible conflict ensues. The paternal voice is uplifted in vain; in vain he foretells the consequences, and implores them by the ties of brotherhood, the duties of filial reverence and

* 2 Cor. i. 3.

† Rom. xv. 5.

‡ 2 Peter iii. 9.

affection, to stay their murderous hands, and to calm their fratricidal madness. The combat continues: they bleed, they fall, and with rage on their brows, and crime within their hearts, they miserably perish by each other's hand before the very face of their parent. As that father pitieth his erring and ill-fated children, even so pitieth the Holy Creator, with a divine pity, his blind and sinful creatures. He laments our fall; he grieves, if the expression may be used, when his created stain their souls with guilt; he sorrows that those who were formed to praise and glorify their Maker, and to promote the welfare of their brethren, should recklessly plunge into wickedness that must separate them from their Father for ever.

This heaven-born pity visited the earth with Jesus; and he continually reminds us that we are to be actuated by its influence towards our fellow beings, in the same proportion that we desire it from them, and, above all, that we hope for it from God.

The Creator is also "a God of peace,"—"of all peace."* His peace lives in the calm mind, unruffled by the storm of passion; in the pure and virtuous heart, that knows no guile. His peace is not torn by the pangs of conscience, nor disturbed by fear; it is of that excelling nature,

* Rom. xv. 33, &c.

that it “passeth all understanding.” The reward of a sincere faith in Providence, and of a ready performance of his will, it affords to all the seeds of true happiness in this world, and will accompany the soul in its flight to that tranquil abode beyond the grave, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

SECTION 2.—*Duty to Man.*

The duty of man to man will be developed in the course of our review of the Gospel, but it may be said to be comprised in the two concise, yet important rules delivered by our Lord, “Love thy neighbour as thyself,” and “Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.” The due operation of these two precepts would admit our fellow beings to share the ruling principle of self-love, and admit them to every privilege that we ourselves would enjoy. Their evident intention is to root out all selfishness, and to teach us, that where we would not suffer, we must not inflict suffering.

The religion of Jesus has not only inspired us with a knowledge of the Divine attributes, and of the nature and destination of human creatures; it has not only elevated man, and demanded reverence for life, but it also infused new opinions, and, in fact, new minds into its professors. Many of

the Jewish principles were narrow and exclusive : these were now to be dispelled, and a more liberal range of the affections was to be encouraged. The Christian doctrines place no limit to philanthropy.

A species of virtue, but little revered in the most enlightened days of pagan antiquity, was now introduced; and it substituted for the dazzling qualities of martial valour and ambition, the exercise not only of public duties, which are consistent with the Christian law, and beneficial to man, but also of every private, unobtrusive, and peaceful office, that has for its object the temporal and spiritual advantage of the human family.

The contrast between the popular and the Christian hero, has been faithfully traced by Paley.* “The truth is,” he says, “there are two opposite descriptions of character under which mankind may generally be classed. The one possesses vigour, firmness, resolution; is daring and active, quick in its sensibilities, jealous of its fame, eager in its attachments, inflexible in its purpose, violent in its resentments. The other, meek, yielding, complying, forgiving; not prompt to act, but willing to suffer; silent and gentle under rudeness and insult; suing for reconciliation where others would demand satisfaction; giving way to the pushes of impudence; conceding and

* “Evidences of Christianity.” Part ii. chap. 2.

indulgent to the prejudices, the wrong-headedness, the intractability of those with whom it has to deal. The former of these characters is, and ever hath been, the favourite of the world. It is the character of great men. There is a dignity in it which universally commands respect. The latter is poor spirited, tame, and abject. Yet so it hath happened, that, *with the Founder of Christianity, this latter is the subject of his commendations, his precepts, his example ; and that the former is so in no part of its composition.*"

The wicked passions had erected an idol which all men worshipped: Jesus laid it prostrate, exposed its evils, and substituted an angel in its place.

It is not a duty, but a crime, in a Christian to rear his fame on the ruin and misery of his brethren.* This is not the glory they seek, who believe in the mission of Jesus ; but they follow, or profess to follow, the advice of Paul,—“ He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord ;”† and “ let no man glory in men.”‡

According to the tests of our faith, Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar and Bonaparte, are viewed with horror and with pity; while Penn, Howard, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Sturge, and other philanthropists, who have exerted themselves in the cause of universal love and happiness; who have devoted

* See Note D.

† 1 Cor. i. 31.

‡ 1 Cor. iii. 21.

their energies to the pleasant work of alleviating the pangs of suffering, and of ameliorating the condition of their fellow beings; who have triumphed over sin, and have waged war against those vices which have deluded and destroyed the world, these,—these are the truly great! These pious Christians have turned away from the character created by *man*, and have studied that which was drawn by the hand of *God*, well knowing that—

“ If there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attained;
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
*By patience, temperance.”**

The Christian religion has also shown us in what true happiness consists: not in wealth, nor in power, nor in glory, but simply in that virtue which is clearly defined in the Gospel, which bestows peace of mind, the greatest of earthly blessings, and promises an eternal reward in heaven.

Christianity not only thus forms the pacific disposition, but also strikes at the very root of those evils we are deprecating; for its natural tendency is *to destroy every motive to war*. It prohibits all pride, selfishness, murder, revenge, rapine, cruelty, hatred, callousness, lust, and strife. “The wars,” observes Jortin, “which are continually waged by

* The answer of our Saviour to Satan, in “Paradise Regained.”

Christian nations, are most notorious offences against the sixth commandment, against the law of nature, against the laws of God given by Moses, and against *the Christian religion, which forbids not only murder, but every disorderly passion, every vice which prompts men to commit murder.*" And Erasmus says, "Those who defend war, must defend the dispositions which lead to war, and *these dispositions are absolutely forbidden by the Gospel.*" It is plain, that by overcoming *the evil passions* of man, our faith affords the safest guarantee for the prevention of war.

CHAPTER VII.

LETTER OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION AGAINST OFFENSIVE WAR.

THE precepts and example of our Lord and of his disciples may be reviewed under two heads: first, those which relate in *general* to our subject, as forbidding aggression and injury, as persuading to every kind of beneficence, as forming dispositions opposed to every ingredient of war: the second division will embrace that portion which relates more particularly to a prohibition of *defensive* warfare.

The general precepts and examples favour the virtues of meekness and humility, of charity, of love, and of peaceableness.

SECTION 1.—*Christian Meekness.*

In the first sermon of our Lord, it appears he was resolved to dispel at once all ambitious views in temporal matters, and to show that humility is the best preparation of the mind for virtue. "Blessed are the poor in spirit," he said, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the meek : for they shall inherit the earth."* He reproves all presumption in judging the merits of others, while we ourselves are far from blameless. "Judge not and ye shall not be judged ; for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged : and with what measure ye mete, it shall be meted to you again. Condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned : forgive, and ye shall be forgiven. Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"† Alas ! how forcibly these words apply to us ! While we exclaim with horror against the sanguinary rites before the Indian Juggernaut ; while we shudder at the self-immolation of the Hindoo widow, and other blood-stained sacrifices, we forget that we destroy a far greater

* Matt. v. 3, 5.

† Luke vi. 37 ; and Matt. vii. 1, 2.

amount of human life, that we do so in the midst of crime, without even the plea which these deluded wretches have, of religion ; and that we thus sin in the face of the holy system of morals which it is our peculiar happiness to possess. Let us take the beam from our own eye.

Jesus himself has left us a model of humility, which the Christian, who is animated by a laudable ambition, should immediately adopt. “Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me ; for *I am meek and lowly in heart* : and ye shall find rest unto your souls.”* He chose his companions and disciples from those of humble lot, who did not aspire to earthly grandeur. He frequented not the dwellings of the powerful and wealthy : “Though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich.”† He made no triumphal entry, surrounded by captives and spoil, into Jerusalem, but merely fulfilled the prophecy —“Behold thy King cometh unto thee, *meek* and sitting upon an ass.”‡

He “made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men : and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.”§

* Matt. xi. 28, 29.

† 2 Cor. viii. 9.

‡ Matt. xxi. 5.

§ Phil. ii. 7, 8.

Our Lord taught his standard of Christian greatness when, in the midst of a dispute among his disciples for the chief place in heaven, he called unto him a little child, and said, "Except ye be converted and *become as little children*, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. *Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.*"* And again, when he was displeased because his disciples prevented children from coming to him: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: *for of such is the kingdom of God*. Verily I say unto you, *whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.*"† Children have no guile, nor deceit, nor malice; neither have they strength nor power, therefore our ideas of greatness should not depend on these qualities; but yet they are not unprotected, though thus to all appearance weak, for they possess meekness and innocence and confiding love, dispositions which ever meet with the favour of their Father, whose will it is, that not "one of these little ones should perish." He guards them from the moment of their birth, from the period when they lift up their little hands in prayer, and breathe forth in simple language the words of purity and gratitude. A sleeping infant is an emblem of that serene and

* Matt. xviii. 3—5.

† Mark x. 14. Matt. xix. 14.

happy peace which should reign within a Christian's breast. Our Saviour well knew that no celebrated hero was to be referred to as a type of true greatness; for the master of millions may be the slave of his own passions; but exhorting men to humble themselves as children, he taught that the Christian hero is he who exercises his moral and intellectual power according to the spirit and the precept of the Gospel, in all humility and innocence.

The apostles, following in the steps of their Lord, remind their fellow Christians, "*in malice be ye children, but in understanding be ye men*;"* and "laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings, as *new-born babes*, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby."† It is not until this infantine dependence is laid aside for the pride of strength, that the Almighty withdraws his protecting arm, and leaves man to his broken reed as a support.

Our Lord ever exhorted his followers to be meek, and not to expect temporal authority. "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."‡

* 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

† 1 Peter ii. 1, 2.

‡ Matt. xx. 26.

And how striking an example he set, by washing the feet of his disciples, saying, "I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done unto you. Verily, verily, I say unto you, the servant is not greater than his Lord; neither he that is sent, greater than he that sent him. If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them."*

His companions adopted this rule of life, so admirably exemplified in the conduct of their Master. Paul says, "I am the least of the apostles;" and writes to his brethren, "Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; *in honour preferring one another.*"† "Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God."‡ "Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves."§ "Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility."|| And he reminds the Thessalonian brethren, "Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome, as the apostles of Christ. But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children."¶ And in the same spirit writes James,—“God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble. Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift

* John xiii. 5.

† Rom. xii. 10.

‡ Ephes. v. 21.

§ Phil. ii. 3.

|| Coloss. ii. 18.

¶ 1 Thess. ii. 6, 7.

you up.”* “Feed the flock of God,” says Peter, “neither as being lords over God’s heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. All of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time; casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you.”†

SECTION 2.—*Christian Charity.*

Charity is one of the brightest and strongest links in that chain which connects mankind: it is the child of love and pity; and powerfully it invites all those kindly affections and sympathies which adorn the heart of man. It is “the cement of souls,” proceeding from compassion, and causing gratitude. We need not, therefore, wonder at the numerous praises of this virtue which we find in the Gospel; for Christianity is a system of charity, and it came from one who loved and pitied our race. Our Saviour thus addresses us:—“Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.”‡ “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal;

* James iv. 6.

† 1 Peter v. 2—4.

‡ Matt. vi. 42.

but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven.”*
 “Sell that ye have, and give alms.”†

Paul has devoted a whole chapter to this subject, and treats it with a force of language and powerful strain of eulogy that are unparalleled. He shows us that charity is something more than a mere assistance to poverty; that it is a disinterested and sincere desire for the happiness of man; a forgiving compassion for their blindness and vices; a love, true and universal, for our brethren. “Charity *suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.*”‡ Such charity as this, extensively diffused among the human race, would promote their welfare, would elevate every praiseworthy and beneficial sentiment, would establish peace! The importance of this virtue cannot be expressed in stronger terms than those used by the same apostle:—“and now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three; *but the greatest of these is charity.*”

Had he not then good reason to exhort us to “put on above all things, charity, which is the

* Matt. vi. 19, 20.

† Luke xii. 33; xiv. 13.

‡ 1 Cor. xiii.

bond of perfectness ;”* and again, “Let all your things be done with charity.”† In his advice to a young Christian, he observes, “Be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity ;”‡ and in the words of another apostle : “Above all things have fervent charity among yourselves, for charity shall cover a multitude of sins.”§

The mission of Jesus was one of charity and beneficence. He not only bore salvation to the soul, but even condescended to heal corporeal infirmities. “Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses.”|| To the miserable leper entreating for assistance, he answered, “Be thou clean ;” and at his word the palsied man received strength and vigour. When the woman, suffering from disease, had touched his garment, he said, “Daughter, be of good cheer, thy faith hath made thee whole.” The blind he once more permitted to see the fair things of earth ; the sick he healed ; and the insane he restored to reason.¶ When the weeping father besought him to recall his only daughter to life, he immediately entered the house of woe, and consoled the afflicted throng with the words, “Weep not ; she is not dead, but sleep-

* Col. iii. 14. † 1 Cor. xvi. 14. ‡ 1 Tim. iv. 12.

§ 1 Pet. iv. 8. || Isaiah liii. 4 ; and Matt. viii. 17.

¶ “The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk ; the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear ; the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.”—Matt. xi. 5.

eth;" and having taken the young and lifeless form by the hand, he exclaimed, "Maid, arise," and "her spirit came again."

Beholding a people oppressed in every manner, slaves to superstition and ignorance, his heart was filled with emotion. He was "moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd." Does he pronounce a woe on Chorazin and Bethsaida? it is only a warning to the inhabitants of those towns, to rouse them to reflection and amendment; to cause them to repent and to deplore their unhappy condition. And when he speaks of the righteous judgment about to overtake Jerusalem and the Jewish people, when he tells of their obstinate enmity and opposition to him, and his exertions for their salvation, he exclaims with cordial tenderness, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!"

When Herod had beheaded John the Baptist, Jesus at once departed from the scene of peril; and being followed by a multitude, instead of feeling anger and revenge at the iniquity of man, he "was moved with compassion towards them, and healed their sick." He would not suffer the adulterous woman to be a victim to lawless violence, but tenderly exclaimed: "Go, and sin no

more." By him was Lazarus restored to the arms of his sorrowing sisters; and all men who came within his sphere, received the benefits for which they entreated.

The disciples learned how to exercise the Christian attribute of charity in its most extensive form, and also in that branch of it which relates to the relieving of poverty; for "all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."* "Neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet, and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need."† The pure charity taught by Jesus, is no barren theory, that does not produce good fruit, but it flourishes with strength and vigour within the heart, and dispenses benefits around: it enters into every opinion and every action.

SECTION 3.—*Christian Love.*

The love of God and that of man are so closely connected as to be incapable of separation.

The commandments throughout the Gospel to

* Acts ii. 44.

† Acts iv. 34.

love the Creator and the creature, are generally linked together. Our Saviour, when asked for the great command in the law, answered, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment: and *the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."* "There is none other commandment greater than these;" and when the scribe rejoined, that he felt the truth of this doctrine, the Lord said, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." Lest it should have been deemed that "the neighbour" merely included those of the same faith or customs, he chose for an illustration of the neighbour, one of the Samaritans, a sect despised by the Jews.

The apostles, mindful of their Lord's doctrines, repeat the same sentiments: "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*."† And "if ye fulfil *the royal law according to the scripture, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*, ye do well."‡ Apply these words

* Matt. xxii. 37, &c.; and also xix. 19. Luke x. 25. Mark xii. 31.

† Gal. v. 13.

‡ James ii. 8.

to men engaged in war, and we must admit that so far from obeying these precepts, they either love their neighbour less than themselves, or *hate* him as they hate themselves.

We have already endeavoured to describe the fervour and sublimity of Divine love; and though it be infinite and boundless, yet are we exhorted to bear a like affection towards our fellow beings. "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another, *as I have loved you*, that ye also love one another."* "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you: continue ye in my love." "This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."† And yet our Lord died for his *enemies*, giving up his life for sinners. The apostles thus speak: "Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, *as Christ also hath loved us*."‡ Yes! we are to experience and to exercise that love which, extensive as the heavens, and lasting as eternity, our blessed Lord displayed towards us. And if we would possess his love, what must we do? *The price of love is love!* It cannot be purchased by wealth, nor commanded by power. The love of our brethren obtains a like return,—but, above all, it is favoured

* John xiii. 34.

† John xiii. 34; and xv. 9, 12.

‡ Ephes v. 1, 2.

by Divine affection. "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me : and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." "If a man love me, he will keep my words : and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him. If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love ; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love." "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you."* And the precept immediately preceding and following these promises and exhortations, is, to love our fellow men. So interwoven is this holy affection with every doctrine of our Saviour, that its manifestation is the very test and sign of a Christian spirit. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another ;"† and the favourite disciple of Jesus has insisted on this truth with much eloquence and argument : "Whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected : hereby know we that we are in him. . . . He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes. He that loveth his brother, abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him."

* John xiv. and xv.

† John xiii. 35.

“For this is the message that ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another. Not as Cain, who was of that wicked one, and slew his brother. . . . We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. *He that loveth not his brother, abideth in death. Whosoever hateth his brother, is a murderer :* and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him. Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us : and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. But whoso hath this world’s good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him ? My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in *deed and in truth*. And hereby we know that we are of the truth. . . . Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God ; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love. If God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. . . . God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God and God in him. . . . If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar : for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen ? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, love his brother also.*

* See 1 John ii. iii. and iv.

Language could not more emphatically convey the nature, the connection, and the reciprocity of love. The security and confidence attending this holy affection are also impressed on our minds. "There is no fear in love ; but perfect love casteth out fear ; because fear hath torment : he that feareth, is not made perfect in love."* And in the words of Saint Paul—"God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and of love, and of a sound mind."† No ! if we love God, he will protect us ; if man be the object of our affection, it is seldom that even he will injure us ; but should he be thus wicked and ungrateful, additional security will be the result ; for our love not permitting us to resent the injury, we shall raise a stronger claim to the shield of Divine Providence.

If such be the case, if love obtain love, divine and human, and be of itself a token of our faith, is it not wonderful that it should have been so zealously discarded by the Christian professors of the present day ? It was not so with the immediate followers of Jesus : their writings everywhere abound in entreaties to the most extensive philanthropy :—"Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil ; cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love." "Let brotherly love continue." "Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of

* 1 John iv. 18.

† 2 Tim. i. 7.

another : love as brethren : be pitiful, be courteous.”

“ Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind.”

“ Add to your faith, virtue ; and to virtue, knowledge ; and to knowledge, temperance ; and to temperance, patience ; and to patience, godliness ; and to godliness, brotherly kindness ; and to brotherly kindness, charity.” “ Owe no man any thing, but to love one another ; for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. . . . Love worketh no ill to his neighbour : therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.” “ Faith worketh by love.”*

It is remarkable that numerous as such passages are, yet they would have been much more frequently urged on man’s attention, but for this simple reason : the disciples never imagined that Christianity could possibly exist when deprived of that spirit of love which our Lord had infused into its nature. They knew that this holy influence dwelt in those who were their contemporaries, and they expected it would be transmitted to every succeeding Christian. “ But as touching brotherly love,” says Paul, “ *ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another.*”†

* Rom. xii. 9, 10. Hebrews xiii. 1—3. 1 Peter ii. 17 ; iii. 8. Phil. ii. 2. 2 Peter i. 5, &c. Rom. xiii. 8—10 ; xiv. 15. Gal. v. 6. Ephes. i. 4 ; ii. 2—4 ; iii. 17 ; iv. 14—16. 1 Thess. i. 3 ; iii. 12, 13 ; iv. 6—8. Hebrews x. 24.

† 1 Thess. iv. 9.

The love of Jesus shines forth in every word and action of his life. It lived on earth, while he lived on earth, though every force that cruelty could invent, or wickedness devise, was brought for its extinction.

And after his death, there is not a more pleasing review of human affection towards all men, even towards enemies, than of that which existed in the devoted band of his disciples, whose hearts were “knit together in love.”* How beautiful is this commencement of an epistle from Paul —“My brethren, dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved ;” and the conclusion of one, “My love be with you all in Christ Jesus.”—“Greet ye one another,” says Peter, “with a kiss of charity ;” and their practice agreed with their professions, for “the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul.”†

SECTION 4.—*Christian Peace.*

Meekness, love, and charity, naturally produce peace ; and were every breast animated by these dictates, as powerfully as our Lord desired, there could be no more strife. But independently of these powerful agents, there is much in the Gospel that tends *directly* to the same result ; and in truth

* Coloss. ii. 2.

† Acts iv. 32.

nothing can be more clearly marked than the favour shown to peacefulness.

“The God of peace,” and “the Author of peace,”* are terms bestowed on the Almighty; and the disciples call Jesus “our peace.”† The word of God is styled, “the gospel of peace;”‡ and the apostles regarded themselves as the ambassadors of peace. Our Lord, in his eulogy on the virtues which form the true Christian, did not omit this blessing :—“*Blessed are the peacemakers : for they shall be called the children of God.*” “Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, thou shalt not kill ; and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment : and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council ; but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire. . . . First, be reconciled to thy brother, then come and offer thy gift. . . . Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him.”§

These passages are intended to elevate man in the estimation of his brother man. If it be attended by such terrible consequences to curse him, it must be still more fatal to destroy his life.

* 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

† Ephes. ii. 14.

‡ Rom. x. 15.

§ Matt. v. 9, 21, &c.

Hatred, which is the grand incentive to strife, is here carefully prohibited.

In that concise and simple, yet most eloquent model of prayer, taught by our Lord, there occur a few words which seem to express the condition in which this world should be, and in which every Christian must pray and strive that it may be. "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven!"* The will of the Almighty, as set forth in the Scriptures, is love, mercy, and peace; and though we pray that it may ever be obeyed here as in his own kingdom, yet we act in direct opposition to it. It is not sufficient alone to pray. The Divine will is performed in heaven by angels, who are united by the ties of affection and devotion, which centre in the Deity. They act in unison, and each ministers to the other. There is no strife, no emulation, save that of pleasing their Maker! Tranquillity reigns around, only broken by hymns of praise, and joyful songs of gratitude. Is the Divine will so obeyed on earth? Do all desire their Father's honour and glory, or promote them by obeying his commands, and loving their brethren? And yet we daily profess to desire this in our prayers! This is not the example Jesus left; for when the awful moment arrived, that the impiety of man was to be crowned by the murder of his Saviour; at that trying hour his theory was

* Matt. vi. 10.

converted into practice :—" Father," he cried, " if thou be willing, remove this cup from me ; nevertheless *not my will, but thine be done* ;"* and the disciples, when weeping at the thoughts of losing Paul by a cruel death, yet ejaculated, " The will of the Lord be done."†

Jesus expressed his opinion of the unhappy consequences of strife, when he exclaimed, " Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation ; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand."‡ It is not probable that he would sanction murder, who came to give life here and hereafter.§

Our Lord, enumerating the things which defile a man, placed amongst them evil thoughts, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, pride, foolishness, which proceed from the heart.|| So the apostle James afterwards ascribed fightings and war to our " lusts." " Ye lust, and have not," adds the apostle : " ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain : ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not ;"¶ and every where we find bloodshed and strife denounced as *the fruits of iniquity* ; while *peace is praised as the effect of a Christian spirit*. " If ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descended not from above,

* Luke xxii. 42.

† Acts xxi. 13.

‡ Matt. xii. 25.

§ John iii. 17 ; xii. 47.

|| Matt. xv. 19.

¶ James iv. 2.

but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. For the wisdom that is from above is first pure, *then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits*, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. *And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace.*”* Paul writes to the Galatians thus: “If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another;” and enumerates among the works of the flesh, “hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, envyings, murders; they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But *the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance*: against such there is no law. And they that are Christ’s have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit. Let us not be desirous of vainglory, provoking one another, envying one another.”† And again he says, “For ye are *carnal*; for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?”‡ “To be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace.”§ “Put off all these; anger, wrath, malice. . . . Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and

* James iii. 12—18.

† Gal. v. 15, 20, &c.

‡ 1 Cor. iii. 3.

§ Rom. viii. 6.

beloved, bowels of *mercies, kindness, longsuffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. . . .* And let the peace of God rule in your hearts.”*

Thus knowing peace to be an effect of virtue, the disciples thought they could express no greater honour to the Prince of peace, when he was riding into Jerusalem, than by crying, “Blessed be the king that cometh in the name of the Lord; *peace in heaven and glory in the highest.*”† Peace was promised as a blessing :—“These things,” said our Lord, “I have spoken *that in me ye might have peace.* In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.”‡ “Being justified by faith,” says Paul, “we have *peace with God through our Lord Jesus Chrst, having made peace through the blood of his cross.*”§ Thus Jesus prays for union amongst his followers: “Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one . . . even as we are one.” “So we being many are one body in Christ,” says Paul, “and every one, members one of another.” “Ye are all one in Christ Jesus.”

* Coloss. iii. 7, 12, &c.; and see also Rom. i. 28; ii. 6, 7, &c.; iii. 12. 2 Tim. iii. 2, 3.

† Luke xix. 38.

‡ John xvi. 33.

§ Rom. v. 1. Coloss. i. 19. Hebrews iv. 9.

The exhortations to peaceableness are as numerous as they are fervent. "The God of patience and consolation grant you to be likeminded one toward another, according to Christ Jesus . . . and fill you, with all joy and peace." "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak, the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment. . . Is Christ divided?" "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace." "Let us do good unto all men." "Though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh: (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.)" "*He is our peace*, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us," says Paul to the Ephesians, "having abolished in his flesh the enmity even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man, *so making peace*; . . and came and *preached peace*." And he beseeches them to live "with all lowliness and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all. . . Be ye angry and sin not; let not the sun go down upon your wrath. . . Let all bitterness and wrath and anger

and clamour and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you."

"The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus." "Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father, and the younger men as brethren." "Follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart." "And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient." "The kingdom of God is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace." "*Follow peace with all men*, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." "My beloved brethren, let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath; for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." . . . "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man. . . The tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity . . . therewith bless we God, even the Father: and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God. Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, these things ought not so to be."* The

* See Rom. xii. 18; xv. 1, &c.; xiii. 13; xiv. 17; xvi. 18, &c. 1 Cor. i. 10; x. 32; xii. 25; xiv. 33. 2 Cor. x. 2, 3; xii. 20;

commencement of their epistles is generally to this effect: "Grace to you, and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ." "Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father." "Grace unto you, and peace be multiplied." "Mercy unto you, and peace and love be multiplied." And the conclusions are frequently as follow: "Now the God of peace be with you all." "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you." "Now the Lord of peace himself give you peace by all means."

What is there to oppose to these pacific precepts? Rules may be found in the Gospel, suitable for every station in which a Christian may lawfully be engaged, and yet there is not a single precept given by our Lord, or any of his apostles, which is applicable to the occupation of a soldier, and evidently intended for his use. If this profession were consistent with Christianity, why was a sol-

xiii. 11. Gal. i. 3. Ephes. ii. 14, 15; iv. 2, 25, 32; v. 19. Phil. i. 27; ii. 2, 3, 14; iv. 7. 1 Thess. v. 13, 23. 2 Thess. iii. 15. 1 Tim. i. 2, 5; ii. 8; iii. 3; v. 1, 22; vi. 4, &c. 2 Tim. ii. 22. Titus iii. 2—4. Heb. xii. 14; xiii. 20. James i. 19, 27; iii. 2, 5, 10. 2 Peter iii. 14. Jude i. 2. By referring to the Scriptures, the reader will perceive that many passages have been omitted; but it is thought that these are the *principal* portions relating to peace. So many extracts have been made above, because it was deemed advisable to collect and place in one vie the Christian doctrines on this subject.

dier left without any regulation for his conduct, except such as would disarm him? But we can go further than this, and assert, that there is not a single vice prohibited under the new dispensation, which a soldier may not practise in perfect consistency with the rules of war; nor is there a single virtue inculcated which he may not dispense with during a campaign, and yet not lose his rank and standing as a soldier. In fact, apply any one of the above extracts from the New Testament to the pursuits and life of a military person, and the contrast will be instantly manifest.

The example of Jesus in this, as in every other instance, accords with his lessons. He followed peace with all men, and neither provoked nor injured any human being. The few years during which he blessed the earth, the prophecies relating to his pacific character were fulfilled. His peace is of that pure and serene nature, that the world cannot take it away: it exists within the mind, even at the moment of torture, and at death accompanies the soul to a more fitting and worthy home. This holy boon our Lord left to all succeeding Christians, in express words. Shortly before his death, he said, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."* An argument, how-

* John xiv. 27.

ever, in favour of warfare, has been derived from the circumstance of our Lord having said, that he had “not found so great faith, no, not in Israel,” as that displayed by the centurion who implored health for his sick servant.* But this exclamation of our Lord does not imply that the soldier was engaged in a profession which a clearer light of Christianity would not have induced him to relinquish. The words apply merely to *faith*, which is a *mental* confidence, totally abstracted from any occupation and from works. Jesus took no notice of the man’s office, but, impressed by the extraordinary trust in his power, praised the faith which had caused the appeal. He therefore replied, “Go thy way, and as thou hast *believed*, so be it done unto thee;” he did not say, “as thou hast *done*.” Rahab, the harlot of Jericho, was commended by Paul for her *faith*, manifested in receiving the spies, but no one will justify her profession on that account. Our Lord, if silent with regard to the centurion’s profession, was also silent with regard to his religion, and yet he was doubtless an idolater; and if such silence would justify war, it would justify all the cruel and unprovoked aggressions of the Romans.

In the midst of exhortations from Jesus to his disciples in favour of endurance, and of being “harmless as doves,” we meet with these words:

* Matt. viii. 10; and Luke vii. 9.

“Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword; for I am come to set a man at variance against his father; and the daughter against her mother; and the daughter in law against her mother in law.”* These words evidently relate to the approaching conflict between the Christian, the Jewish, and the Pagan system, and to the persecutions that the followers of Jesus were doomed to suffer. Putting aside the impossibility of such a strife being sanctioned in its literal sense, by so peaceful and merciful a religion, and the improbability of females fighting with the sword, the preceding and following expressions explain the true meaning to be that which we have assigned. Our Lord had just been telling his disciples “to *flee* from persecution,” but not to fear “those which kill the body,” as God would assist them, and then, after the above extract, he adds: “And a man’s foes shall be they of his own household. He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me.”

It has also been urged, that the disciples in some measure allowed and countenanced a military life, because Cornelius the centurion was

* Matt. x. 34, 35. Luke xii. 49. In the same prophetic spirit Jesus foretold strife and wars on other occasions.

baptized by Peter.* The whole narration tells us that the soldier being “a devout man, and one that feared God,” was converted and baptized, and we have no further information on the subject. Now there is great reason to presume, in the absence of all proof to the contrary, that, on receiving baptism, he renounced his profession, or at all events resolved to take no active part in its duties. This presumption is founded on the whole tendency of the Christian religion, on the practice of the primitive followers of Jesus, and on the fact, that all Roman soldiers were obliged to worship idols,—a species of adoration totally opposed to the principles of our faith.†

* Acts x.

† By some it is objected that war is not expressly forbidden by *name* in the gospel; but the same plea would be applicable to slavery, duelling, polygamy, suicide, gambling, and many other unchristian vices. Our Lord forbade the *motives* which lead to these evils, a mode which must be allowed to have been by far the most simple and effectual. Many have been driven for an argument to the circumstance of Paul being in the company of soldiers; (Acts xxiii.) but any one, by reading the chapter, may see that the captain of the guard committed Paul, who was a prisoner, to the charge of an armed band.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION FORBIDS DEFENSIVE
WAR.

WE now come to the duties that are incumbent upon Christians in cases which presuppose an injury ; and they relate to the defence we should make against an attack at the period of its occurrence, and to the measures we should afterwards pursue, whether revenge or forgiveness.

In discussing the question of defensive warfare, every prejudice and passion will probably be enlisted against us ; but we entreat the reader to free himself as much as possible from these trammels, and to enter into the examination with a sincere desire to learn whether the Christian religion does allow war under any circumstances. This is all we advance : we set up no theory, no speculation of our own ; but, with all humility, submit to the notice of our fellow men, in one compressed view, the doctrines of Christianity on this important subject.

Defensive war is generally synonymous in common language with justifiable war, as having a just cause ; but the line of demarcation between this and aggression is but slightly traced, and is frequently trampled upon. Each party usually con-

siders his view of the disputed question to be the right one, and that he has justice on his side : and while this decision is referred to the passions, which in these instances are much inflamed and excited, there will not often be a very rational conclusion.* But even supposing that a nation takes up arms only in self-defence, yet how frequently does it become the aggressor in its turn, and invade the very territories of parties wholly innocent of any participation in the first attack ! The truth is, that the distinction can only exist in theory ; in *practice* it is useless. “ If an army may fight in defence of their own lives, they may, and they must fight in defence of the lives of others : if they may fight in defence of the lives of others, they will fight in defence of their property ; if in defence of their property, they will fight in defence of political rights ; if in defence of rights, they will fight in promotion of interests ; if in promotion of interests, they will fight in promotion of their glory and their crimes. Now let any man of honesty look over the gradations by which we arrive at this climax, and we believe

* “ Every just war,” says Paley, “ supposes an injury, *perpetrated, attempted, or feared.*” Here is an injury without any limit to its motive, its nature, or extent ! If the injury had been perpetrated, will not the *just* war frequently assume the character of revenge ; if attempted, may it not often appear premature and therefore aggressive ? and if *feared* only, we can make every sign of prosperity in another people a plea for their destruction.

that he will find, *in practice*, no curb can be placed upon the conduct of an army until they reach it. There is indeed a wide difference between fighting in defence of life, and fighting in furtherance of our crimes ; but the steps which lead from one to another, will follow in *inevitable* succession. We know that the letter of the supposed rule excludes it, but we know that such a rule would be a letter only. It is very easy for us to sit in our studies, and to point the commas and semicolons and periods of the soldier's career ; it is very easy for us to say he shall stop at defence of life, or at protection of property, or at the support of rights ; but armies will never listen to us—we shall be only the Xerxes of mortality throwing our idle chains into the tempestuous ocean of human slaughter.”* Once afford such food for the worst propensities, once nourish them by the slaughter of fellow beings, and you cannot stop them in their course. The source of the destructive stream is passion, and if be not entirely checked by the sanctity of life, and the dictates of religion, it will overflow every bound, and, rushing onwards, will lay waste all that is good and valuable.

The argument for slaying in self-defence is thus stated : Self-preservation is an instinct of nature,

* “Applicability of the Pacific Principles of the New Testament to the Conduct of States,” &c. By Jonathan Dymond.

and therefore whatever is necessary for self-preservation is accordant with the will of God. The premises may be granted, but the conclusion is utterly fallacious, because it assumes an instinct of our animal nature to be a law of paramount authority. Christianity does not attempt to eradicate any of these instincts, *but it directs them all in their course, and restrains them within their proper limits.* The grand object of our religion is, to impress upon the mind a necessity of *self-denial*. By a want of this virtue,—the root of all virtue,—our first parents were driven forth from Paradise; by its constant exercise, Jesus and his disciples have left us an example that it is the true road to heaven. We must subject our animal propensities to the rules of our faith. “If any man will be my disciple,” says our Lord, “let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me; for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sakes shall find it.”* “He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.”†

Let us be careful of what we call the laws of nature.‡ It is too often the practice of men to attribute every bad action to their nature, and, under this indefinite term, to shelter their most immoral deeds; while, at the same time, they assign to their own merits the possession of any

* Matt. xvi. 24, 25.

† Matt. x. 38.

‡ See Note E.

good quality. But let such know, that "God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man : but every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed. . . Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above."* Above all, we should guard against opposing natural, to revealed law. Every law presupposes a legislator. The legislator of nature is that merciful Spirit that has gradually been raising us to a more perfect state of existence, and has expressly revealed His will, so that we might no longer be misled by folly under the guise of reason. If we mean by the laws of nature, those rules which agree with revelation, for what purpose do we refer to them ? If we mean a system different from the Christian dispensation, then it is obvious we have set up a law of our own against that of Heaven.

On the one hand, we have natural law, which is to be interpreted by the weak and faulty understandings of human beings, blinded by prejudice, and deceived by passion : we have a wavering and faint light, that now guides us for a while, and then is extinguished, leaving us in confusion and darkness.

On the other hand, we have the laws of Christianity plainly defined, interpreted by the mouth of Jesus and his immediate followers, and pointed to by the finger of God : we have a clear and

* James i. 13, 14.

never-fading light, that having led us in safety through this perilous path, will at length conduct us to another and a better world.

Let us follow the Divine Legislator, the more perfect law, which of itself is sufficient for every want and necessity, and which alone can produce certain benefit.

The principle that should be substituted for unlawful and violent resistance in every case, is that of *an unlimited trust in Divine Providence, without reference to consequences, whenever we should violate his decrees by defending ourselves.*

This at least, it will be admitted, is a very simple rule, easily comprehended by every mind, and capable of application at all times, and in all places. The effect of our religion was to call men from the wicked practice of trusting in their numerous gods, which were chiefly their *passions deified*, and to turn to One, who alone is able and willing to save his creatures. To regulate our actions according to his will, and to live by an acquiescent reference to an all-wise, and all-merciful Father, should form at once our privilege and our consolation. Oh ! why do we hesitate to transfer our hopes from mortal weakness, and to rely on an immortal and almighty Power ? Can we credit that the fainting traveller would refuse to leave a broken reed for the firm support of the oak ? Do we prefer the protection afforded

by the hand of man, to that given by legions of angels ?*

We admit that a degree of resistance is allowed to communities, and to each member of them, but it must be consistent with the law of love. We are still allowed to resist evil by the exercise of every moral and rational power, by caution, argument, prayer, exhortation, and by every means not opposed to the doctrines of Jesus.

We deny that resistance may extend to the slaughter of our fellow-creatures, to the destruction of that life which has been rendered so sacred by our religion, to the perdition of that soul which has been declared to be of infinite value. In a word, we deny that defensive war is permitted by the Christian religion.

First ; what is called defensive, war nourishes the passions which are directly opposed to the virtues of Christianity.† It is unlawful to *hate* an enemy, for hatred is the disposition which tends to his destruction, and which is expressly forbidden by our Lord. The moment the arm is raised to slay, that is the moment of *anger* ; and directly any quit their own boundaries, that is the moment of *retaliation, pride and presumption*. These impulses are unlawful : they are partial, and do not allow him, whom we are to love as ourselves, to hold an equal place in our affections. They invade the

* See Note F.

† Letters to Caleb Strong.

right of the Almighty, who has said : "Vengeance is mine ; I will repay."*

Can any true Christian, we would ask, encourage these vices ? Hatred, anger, revenge, pride, and presumption, are not the ingredients of Christianity : they are hostile to every virtuous impression which Jesus laboured to instil. The true test is, whether such feelings could be indulged in the presence of our God, who searcheth our hearts, and whose will is to be performed on earth, as it is in heaven.

Secondly ; the precepts, of which we have already been treating, *indirectly* discourage every species of war. The character formed of the qualities there inculcated, would be incapable of wilfully inflicting the slightest injury on a fellow creature. And let us especially remember that all the fervent exhortations of Jesus to his followers, for the exercise of good-will, of love, and of charity, towards the human race, were addressed at a period when almost every living being was *an enemy and a persecutor* of Christians ; so that these precepts, though applicable to all times, and all men, yet in that age, and with regard to the men who were then in existence, were in truth commands *to love their enemies, and to benefit those by whom they might be injured.*

But thirdly, there are very many *direct* induce-

* Rom. xii. 19,

ments to this result. The dispositions which are formed by the instinct of preservation, such as non-forbearance, resistance, and retaliation, are expressly forbidden; while, on the other hand, endurance and forgiveness of injuries, the return of good for evil, and the love of our enemies, are prescribed as eminent Christian duties.

Jesus, in his sermon on the mount, at once explained the nature of the new system, and the extraordinary change it was destined to produce in the opinions and actions of mankind. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.* Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate† thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth

* Jesus himself exemplified the *spirit* of this passage; for when struck by the officer before the high priest, he answered, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?"—John xviii. 22, 23.

† "The verb 'to hate,' as used in the Holy Scriptures, (Greek, *μισέω*,) does not imply *malignity of mind*, so much as *opposition and enmity in action*. See Schleusner, *Lex. voc. μισέω*, No. 1." —"Essay on War," by Joseph Gurney.

rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect.”* Our Lord here instituted a comparison between the moral code, which prevailed among the Israelites under the sanction of Moses, and the purer system which he was about to promulgate. The Jewish laws had commanded the children of Israel to love their neighbour, if he were a fellow countryman, or the stranger, if he were a proselyte;† and they were not permitted to hate their private enemies, who belonged to the same favoured community.‡ But their *national* enemies they were commanded to hate and destroy: with these they were to make no covenant.§ To this principle, then, is opposed the Christian law:

* Matt. v. 38, &c. Luke vi. 31, &c.

† “Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against *the children of thy people*, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”—Lev. xix. 18.

‡ Exod. xxiii. 4. See “Essay on War,” by J. Gurney.

§ “Grotius, in his work, ‘*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*,’ has himself insisted on this interpretation of the saying of old times respecting hatred, ‘*Odio habebis inimicum tuum, puta septem populos, quibuscum amicitiam colere, quorumque misereri vetantur.*’—Exod. xxxiv. 11. Deut. vii. 1. ‘His addendi Amalecitæ in quos Hebræi jubentur bellum habere implacabile.’—Deut. xxv. 19. Lib. i. cap. ii. s. 3, 1. The correctness of the observation thus made by this learned defender of war, is, I think, indisputable; but it is surprising that he did not notice the argument which it

“Love your enemies,” that is, although you are to love your private enemies, your countrymen, a command that you already obey; yet you must do more than this, you must also love your *national* enemies, whether they be of a different race, of a different colour, or of a different creed. This lesson, in fact, seems to have been specifically directed *against the practice of war*. The contrast forms a conclusive answer to those who would support modern warfare by the example of the Jews: and it is conceived in such plain and forcible terms, that had not another word been uttered in favour of peace, this declaration alone should be sufficient for its establishment. We are to take an example from our Father’s love to his children; and we are also exhorted, “Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful,”* and the blessed reward is promised, that we may be in truth children of the Father of mercies.

The sermon continues in the same spirit: “Therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets;”† a test of action that would infallibly prevent the infliction of an injury.

The disciples perceived the importance of the new principles introduced with regard to enmity.

so obviously affords, that, under the Christian dispensation, war is unlawful.”—*Ibid.*

* Luke vi. 36.

† Matt. vii. 12.

*"Recompense to no man evil for evil. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head."** If it be objected that the concluding words furnish an argument for retaliation, it is evident that such is not the true sense of the apostle's expressions, for the advice preceding them was, not "to avenge ourselves," and the words following are,—"*Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.*"† Again: "*See that none render evil for evil unto any man; but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves, and to all men.*"‡ "Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing, knowing that ye are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing."§

If it be thus plainly commanded *to return good for evil, and to love our enemies*, it is difficult to

* Macknight observes: "The metaphor is supposed to be taken from the melting of metals, by covering them with burning coals; thus understood, the meaning will be, in so doing, thou shalt mollify thine enemy, and bring him to a good temper. This, no doubt, is the best method of treating enemies, for it belongs to God to punish the injurious, but to the injured to overcome them by returning good for evil." See also Dr. Guyse and Poole's comments on this place. "War inconsistent with the Doctrines of Jesus." By J. Scott.

† Rom. xii. 14, &c. ‡ 1 Thess. v. 15. § 1 Peter iii. 9—11.

see on what grounds any species of war can for a moment be supported by Christians. Thus religion comes to the aid of humanity, and they lift up their united voices against the practice of bloodshed.

As the strongest inducement for us to forgive injuries, we are told, that according to the measure with which we mete forgiveness, will our heavenly Father dispense forgiveness to us. "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy."* We are taught to pray daily—"Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,"—words that implore for a curse from above, if we curse our brethren, and which call down punishment and spiritual death, if we injure or destroy our fellow creatures. It is worthy of remark, that these are the only words in our Lord's prayer on which he made any comment. "For if ye forgive men their trespasses," he adds, "your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive men not their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."† In the same spirit, and with the same intention, appear to have been framed the answer to Peter, and the parable by which it was illustrated. To the question of this disciple—"Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times?" Jesus answered, "I say not unto thee, until seven times, *but until seventy*

* Matt. v. 7.

† Matt. vi. 12, &c.

times seven ;” and then our Lord taught of the wicked servant, who, though forgiven a debt by his master, yet would not have like compassion on his fellow servant, an act which called forth well-merited punishment from his master:—“ O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt because thou desiredst me ; shouldst not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow servant, even as I had pity on thee ? And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise,” now Jesus says to us, “ shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.”* Where can we find so powerful an impulse to be kind and compassionate, as the conviction, that we ourselves shall shortly appear as suppliants for mercy before the judgment-seat of our God ?

The disciples preached forgiveness with the same limitation for Divine pity. “ He shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy ; and mercy rejoiceth against judgment.”† These expressive words tell us, that the fair angel of mercy is filled with gladness when she beholds an act of human eompassion ; for she knows that by such conduct man will escape the judgment of the wicked.

* Matt. xviii. 21, &c. ; and see Mark xi. 25, 26.

† James ii. 13.

Not only are we to show mercy in expectation of future mercy, but also in gratitude for past tokens of Divine pity. "Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you."* "Even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye."†

Our Lord frequently forewarned his disciples of their coming sufferings; but he inculcated, at the same time, the virtues of endurance and self-denial. "Behold," he said to them, "I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and *harmless as doves* . . . and ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end shall be saved. But when they persecute you in this city, *flee* ye into another . . . and fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." "In your patience possess ye your souls."‡ What arms were they to take in order to meet so much hatred and persecution? "Provide," he said, "neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey . . . *nor yet staves*;" but he exhorts them to put their trust in God, without whose knowledge not a sparrow falleth to the ground, and by whom the very hairs of our head are numbered.

* Ephes. iv. 32.

† Coloss. iii. 13.

‡ Matt. x. 16, &c.; and Luke xxi. 19.

Flight, and a defence *in words*, formed all the resistance allowed to the disciples; and they are said to be blessed, when persecuted, because the cruelty of man will afford them an opportunity of displaying their confidence in the Almighty, and their obedience to Divine commands. "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake;" and "He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal."*

The disciples were impressed with the truth and value of these doctrines, and they gloried in their sufferings for the sake of their crucified Master. "We are troubled on every side," says Paul, "yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body. For we which live are alway delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh . . . For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory"† "If we be dead with him, we

* Matt. v. 10, &c.; and John xii. 25. † 2 Cor. iv. 8, 17.

shall also live with him ; if we suffer, we shall also reign with him ; if we deny him, he also will deny us.”* “ Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good ? But, and if ye suffer for righteousness’ sake, happy are ye ; and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. . . . For it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing, than for evil doing.” “ If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye. . . But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a busybody in other men’s matters ; yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed ; but let him glorify God on this behalf.” “ We glory in tribulations also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience.” “ We are the children of God : and if children, then heirs ; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified together. . . Who shall separate us from the love of Christ ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword ? As is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long ; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things

* 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.

present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." "Exhort with all long suffering and doctrine." "Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith. . . . Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth." "For this is thankworthy, if a man, for conscience towards God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? But if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, *leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps*; who did no sin; neither was guile found in his mouth: *who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.*"*

Our Lord plainly expressed that his disciples are not of this world, that is, that they are to look to spiritual, rather than to temporal things, and to fix their thoughts on heaven, rather than

* See Rom. v. 3—5; viii. 17, 35; xii. 12. 2 Cor. iv. 8, 17; vi. 3; xi. 19. Phil. i. 28, &c. Coloss. i. 11; iii. 12. 1 Thess. iii. 3, 4. 1 Tim. iv. 10. 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. Hebrews x. 30, &c.; xii. 1, 6, 11. James i. 2, 3; v. 6, 10. 1 Peter ii. 19, &c. iii. 13, 14, 17. Revelations ii. 10.

on earth. "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."* These various precepts, taken collectively, form the strongest testimony to prove that we are not only to endure injuries, instead of resisting them to the death of our adversary, but also to forgive him; and not only are we to forgive him, but even to love him; and so far from revenging ourselves, we are to return good for his evil.

In reviewing the character of Jesus, in reference to this part of our subject, we have an admirable and perfect model of a forgiving and enduring disposition. It is composed of the most sublime self-denial, that was manifested in the midst of suffering, of insult, and of cruelty. He to whom sin was a hideous foe, came to save and deliver those who followed in its train, and obeyed its dictates. He came, he taught, he lived and died, for his *enemies*. Though exposed to indignities, which even to read of, make the heart to bleed, where do we find an instance of his repelling by force one single injury? Where do we see him returning curse for curse, or blow for blow? Let us well observe the conduct of our Saviour towards those who were resisting him, or were plotting or consummating his destruction. When

* John xv. 19; and see xvii. 14, 16.

he was telling his disciples of his future sufferings and death, Peter seemed to advocate non-forbearance, or some human method of avoiding them. "Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall not be unto thee." But he turned, and said unto Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me; for thou savourest not the things which be of God, but those that be of men."* John and James, enraged at the conduct of some Samaritans, who, dwelling in a village on the road to Jerusalem, refused to receive them and their Master, asked, "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did? He turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them. And they went to another village."† He deeply regretted the blindness of this people; he was wounded by their unkindness; presently observing, that he had "not where to lay his head;" but yet he would not leave an example of avenging an injury.

Jesus, though knowing "from the beginning"‡ that the arch-fiend Judas would betray him, yet neither reviled, nor injured him. At the holy Supper, he observed, more in sorrow, than in anger: "Truly the Son of man goeth as it was determined; but woe unto that man by whom he

* Matt. xvii. 22, 23. † Luke ix. 54, &c. ‡ John vi. 64.

is betrayed;" and the hypocrite answering, "Master, is it I?" he replied, "Thou hast said."* The traitor pointed out the victim to the murderous crowd, by a kiss, and Jesus then merely said: "Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?"† How generous, and how touching was such conduct! He did not angrily reproach, he did not curse the apostate, but, sorrowful at a scene of such human depravity, he pitied the sinful man.

During the Last Supper, our Lord addressed some words to his disciples which have been converted into an argument for defensive war. It is cause for grief that there should be necessity to clear the character of Jesus from a suspicion so unworthy, and so fully negatived by every circumstance of his life. The words used by our Lord are these: "When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing. Then said he unto them, But now he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip, and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.‡ For I say unto you, that this that is written, must yet be accomplished in me. And he was reckoned among the transgressors, for the things concerning me

* Luke xxii. 21; and Matt. xxvi. 25. † Luke xxii. 48.

‡ Many manuscripts, and some of note, besides many of the oldest editions, read this verse as a prediction—"shall sell and shall buy;" but it is presumed that the words can be satisfactorily explained without any alteration.

have an end.”* These words, superficially examined, might be considered to encourage the persuasion, that the disciples were to defend themselves and their religion by the sword ; and the disciples themselves, as was their custom,† understanding the expressions literally, answered, “ Lord, behold here are two swords.” Now what was the reply of Jesus ? “ *It is enough !*”

In the first place, two swords could not possibly have been sufficient for the physical defence of twelve men ; much less were they needed for the safety of him who had legions of angels at his command. By answering, “ It is enough,” he showed his disciples their error, and that resistance by the sword was neither expressed nor implied by his injunction.

Secondly, they were very soon undeceived, if they still continued in error, with regard to the meaning of these words ; and our Lord presently gave a practical explanation that they did not refer to violent defence, even though the most important interests should be at stake. When the multitude came to seize him, the disciples cried, “ Lord, shall we smite with the sword ?” and Peter, without waiting for an answer, smote Malehus, the servant of the high-priest, and severed his ear.

* Luke xxii. 35, &c.

† See a like instance of their mistaking the true sense of their Lord’s words, in Matt. xvi. 6, 7.

Then did Jesus express that it was the duty of his followers to endure wrong, rather than to use the sword. "Suffer ye thus far," he said, or, in other words, even this, the most horrible indignity offered to the Saviour of mankind, the most cruel degradation, even this ye must endure. And he touched the ear, and healed the wounded man. He then added, with great significancy, to Peter, "Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" And as an universal caution against so unchristian a practice, he subjoined—"All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword."* And alluding to his vast power, "Thinkest thou I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" Soon after, when carried before Pilate, he plainly declared that his religion was opposed to all war. "My kingdom," he said, "is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence."

Thirdly, neither the apostles nor their immediate successors understood the passage as authorizing resistance by the sword; for after this

* Matt. xxvi. 52, &c. John xviii. 11. These words call to mind the passage in Revelations xiii. : 10 "He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; he that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword."

memorable night, when Jesus forbade the use of destructive weapons, we find no instance of their having recourse to them under any circumstances, though, with the exception of the Jews, they suffered more persecution than any other sect in the world.

Fourthly, in order to wrest this sentence into an argument for war, it is necessary to violate the whole tenor of the Christian system, and to render of no avail the pacific precepts and examples of our Lord and the apostles.

It appears, then, sufficiently evident, that the followers of Jesus were not commanded, nor permitted to take up the sword by the words used on the night of the Last Supper. In what sense, then, are we to understand them? *Not in a literal, but in a figurative sense.* Such is the explicit judgment of the generality of commentators. We may therefore either conclude with Erasmus, that the sword of which our Lord spoke, was the sword of the Spirit, the word of God;* or we may accede to the more prevalent opinion of critics, that the words of Jesus imported nothing more than a general warning to the disciples, that their situation was about to be greatly changed; that they were soon to be deprived of the personal and protecting presence of their Master; that becoming the objects of hatred and persecution, they would be

* See Com. in loc.

exposed to every species of difficulty; that they would no longer be able to trust in their neighbours, and would therefore be driven to a variety of expedients in order to provide for their own maintenance and security.*

It may be asked, however, how was it that the disciples possessed two swords? To this we may answer; that it is clear some of the disciples, previous to the sending of the Holy Ghost, were not endowed with a truly Christian spirit; they had yet too much of the world within them, and had not entirely overcome those passions and prejudices which afflict mankind. We especially perceive this deficiency in the desire manifested by John and James for the destruction of the Samaritan village; and in the general character of Peter, who, though a good man, had not become sufficiently impressed with the pacific doctrines which his Master laboured to instil. He it was that doubtingly asked, whether he should be required to forgive his brother even seven times? He it was that advised our Lord to resist his foes, and was told that "he savoured not the things which are of God, but of men." He it was that our Lord thus addressed at the Last Supper: "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath de-

* See Estius, Vatablus, and others, in *Poli Syn.*, Gill, &c.; also an "Essay on War," by J. Gurney; and "Objections to the Cause of Peace Considered," by a Layman. The last mentioned forms the thirteenth tract of the Peace Society.

sired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat ; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not ; *and when thou art converted*, strengthen thy brethren ;” showing that he was not yet converted. On the same night it was that the two swords were produced : on the same night Peter struck off the servant’s ear ; and before the morrow’s dawn, Peter *had denied his Lord thrice*.*

These circumstances easily account for the fact of swords being found among the twelve disciples. They had not witnessed the enduring constancy of their Lord in the moment of severe trial, and of painful death : they had not learned to follow the sublime lessons delivered to them ; and hearing from Jesus of the persecutions they were to experience, two of them, (of whom Peter most probably was one,) actuated by a want of confidence in God, or by fear, or by revenge, had furnished themselves with swords.

This can be no precedent for succeeding Christians, unless they desire to imitate the carnal,

* “ Jesus turned and looked on him, to reproach and condemn his *want of the only courage that becomes a Christian*. Was it not as much as to say ‘ Thou wast ready to go with me to prison and to death, provided I would allow thee to do it, sword in hand, and with the violence of armed warfare : but thou art not willing to follow me to prison and death in the only way I approve, with the fortitude of faith, not with the resistance of valour. The sword of the warrior I condemn ; the sword of the Spirit I sanction and approve.’ ”—Note by the American editor of Dymond’s *Essays on War*.

rather than the spiritual qualities of their predecessors, and to take their models not only from the disciples, rather than from Jesus, but from the least christian-minded of the disciples, and from those who were not even converted.

Jesus himself has left us an example for our conduct in cases of defence and resistance. A multitude of riotous and excited men assembled together at night, and, armed with warlike weapons, rushed on to accomplish their iniquitous design. Was this a tumult of but little importance? Was it merely an attack upon property, to lay waste lands, to burn houses, and to destroy treasure? Or even was it to dethrone a king, or to obtain freedom, or gain reparation for invaded rights? No! It was far, far beyond all these objects. It was an outrage, that if bloodshed could possibly be lawful, would have sanctioned the resistance of a world in arms! The object was to murder the Saviour of mankind; to dethrone the King of righteousness and of truth; to slay the Lamb of peace and love. He, at that awful moment, reproved *all physical resistance*: "Put up the sword," were his words; and then he calmly expostulated with his foes,—“Are ye come out as against a thief, with swords and staves for to take me?” Here is an example for all Christians. He that could command legions of angels, that could have swayed the powers of

nature against his adversaries, and, with one flash of heaven's lightning, have laid them dead at his feet, he has said : " Put up the sword."

In pursuing our Lord's character on this point, it remains but to observe his perfect and beautiful conduct at the period of death. His enemies, shouting for his blood, smote and buffeted him ; they crowned him with thorns, and, in mockery, threw around him a purple robe. They laughed him to scorn, and defied him. He was made to bear the cross, and he was nailed to the wood between two thieves : they crucified him, and gave him gall to drink, as if the cup which he had drained to the very dregs, had not been sufficiently bitter : they murdered him ; and yet when bleeding and expiring, a pure and spotless victim to crime, his spirit bade farewell to the scene of blood in the Divine exclamation : " Father, forgive them ; they know not what they do !"

Yes ! our Lord himself has proved to us that his doctrines are not merely cold and barren speculations, but that they are capable of affording support in the most trying and painful events of life. He has shown us that they are not to be regarded as the delusive imagery of a dream, which fades away before the waking realities of existence, but that they are themselves real, themselves practicable, and intended to form and influence every thought, desire, and action. The conduct of Jesus

at the last moment of his brief earthly career, when he was about to crown our faith, completes the unity of his character, and perfects the harmony of the whole picture.

That it is incumbent on every professing Christian to follow the example of his Saviour, will not be disputed. The disciples eagerly embraced the inviting model set before them. "Let this mind be in you," says St. Paul, "which was in Christ Jesus." Peter, exhorting his brethren to endure evils, gives as a reason, "because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow in his steps." "He that saith he abideth in him," observes John, "ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked."* And their practice agreed with their professions. We have already seen their numerous exhortations to endurance; and we find that they suffered every affliction without an attempt at violent resistance or revenge. When persecuted and beaten, they rejoiced that they were "counted worthy to suffer shame for his name."† "We both hunger and thirst," say the disciples, "and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat."‡

* 1 John ii. 6.

† Acts v. 41.

‡ See Acts xx. 19, 23; xxi. 13. 1 Cor. iv. 11—13. 2 Cor. xi. 24, &c. Heb. xi. 36, &c.

When the infuriated populace were hurling stones at Stephen, he said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and then, as if filled with the influence of his holy Master, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!" With these forgiving words on his lips, "he fell asleep."

In fact, the early followers of Jesus willingly underwent the most lingering tortures, and were emulous of becoming martyrs for his sake.* They knew, "Blessed are they that die in the Lord," and had reason to exclaim: "O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; but thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

CHAPTER IX.

OPINIONS AND PRACTICE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS FOR THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

WE now come to the important evidence afforded by the character, the opinions, and the practice

* For a full account of their sufferings, and their patient endurance, both from scriptural and profane testimony, see the first five chapters of Paley's "Evidences of Christianity."

of the primitive Christians. We believe the following proposition to be capable of proof: That not only the fathers of the church held it unlawful for Christians to go to war, but that all who embraced the Christian religion, abstained from the use of arms, while the faith itself was pure and inviolate; and that not until it became corrupt, did its professors become soldiers.

Every narration* concerning the early lovers of Christianity, gives them a character composed of those attributes which were so zealously commended by our Saviour. They met together: they joined in prayer, they sang hymns in concert. Their love, their humility, their forgiveness, and their endurance, were admired and celebrated in the heathen world. We are informed by a learned writer† on this subject, that—"Whenever they were sought for in order to condemnation, they were not solicitous for opportunities to escape. And if they did not run away from suffering, much less did they oppose it, and make tumults and parties to defend themselves. No! they were led as lambs to the slaughter; and as the sheep before the shearers are dumb, so opened they not their mouths, but committed their cause to Him that judges righteously, and who has said, 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay it.'". . . . "They did not

* Paley's Evidences. Pliny's Letter to Trajan, &c.

† "Primitive Christianity." By William Cave.

think it enough not to return evil for evil, or barely to forgive their enemies, unless they did them all the kindness that lay in their power." "They did not confine their bounty within the narrow limits of a party, this or that sect of men; but embraced an object of love and pity, wherever they met it. They were kind to all men, *even to their bitterest enemies*, and that with a charity as large as the circles of the sun, that visits all parts of the world, and shines as well upon a dreary prospect, as upon a pleasant garden."*

A preliminary objection may here be advanced, and it may be said, that the Christians refused to fight, not because of their aversion to war, but because of the idolatry connected with the military service of Rome; that the oath which every soldier was obliged to take, was full of idolatry; that the standards had divine honours paid to them; and that images of the emperors were to be worshipped.

† We at once admit that the Christians shunned every vestige of idolatry, and that this was one cause of their refusal to bear arms, and indeed it is so stated by Tertullian himself. But this

* By the rules laid down for their conduct under persecution, *flight* was allowed, but not resistance.

† See "Doctrines and Practice of the Early Christians," a most able treatise, by Thomas Clarkson, M. A. The writer of the above pages begs to acknowledge that he is indebted to this work for much of the following information.

was not the *only* reason ; for their repugnance arose also from the belief that it was *unlawful and unchristian to fight*, a belief that was founded on three notions :—First, that it was their duty, according to the Scriptures, *to love their enemies*, a duty that cannot be performed by their destruction. Secondly, that in obedience to the commands of Christ, it became them to abstain from all violence, and to be distinguished as the followers of peace. “ The great King of heaven,” observes Isidore of Pelusium, “ came down from above to deliver to the world rules for an heavenly conduct, which he has placed in a certain mode of contending quite contrary to that in the Olympic games. There, he that fights and gets the better, receives the crown. Here, he that is struck and bears it meekly, has the honour and applause. There, he that returns blow for blow. Here, he that turns the other cheek, is celebrated in the theatre of angels ; for the victory is not measured by revenge, but by a wise and generous patience. This is the new law of crowns ; this is the new way of contending for the mastery.” Thirdly, *they looked upon the slaughter of men in war, as neither more nor less than direct murder*. So great was their abhorrence of this crime, and so sincere the respect they paid to human life,* that they refused

* “ It is unlawful,” says Lactantius, “ for a righteous man to prosecute any person capitally ; for it matters not whether we kill

to be present even at the gladiatorial shows, or any other exhibitions, where it might be taken away. Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, and Minutius Felix, all agree in asserting that they would not attend the conflicts of gladiators, and they give their reason for so doing. "This we do," says Theophilus, "lest we should become partakers of the murders committed there."

"Who is there," writes Athenagoras, "that does not prize the shows of the gladiators, which their emperors make for the people? but we, thinking there is very little difference whether a man be the author or spectator of murder, keep away from all such sights." We should remember that the gladiators were generally captives made by war, or reputed enemies, and their slaughter was sanctioned, as in war, by the state. "What conclusion are we to draw from these premises? Can we think it possible that those who thought an attendance at the gladiatorial spectacles, criminal, on the principle that he who stood by was a murderer, (though the murder was sanctioned by authority,) should not have also thought it criminal to engage in the military service, upon the principle *that it was unlawful to fight?*"* Indeed, from by the sword or by the word, *since all killing is prohibited*. This Divine law allows of no exception. It must ever be a forbidden wickedness *to put man to death*; for God has created him a sacred animal."—*De Vero Cultu*, lib. vi. cap. xx.

* Clarkson.

the nature of the religion, and from the character given of the early Christians, it may easily be credited, that they would refuse to engage in war, from many considerations besides that of idolatry attending the military service.

We shall now endeavour to support our proposition by the conduct of Christians for the first three centuries after the death of Jesus, and shall adduce as evidence the writings of the fathers of the church.

There is a great paucity of these compositions during the first century of the Christian era, which may be accounted for by the harassed, persecuted, and unsettled state of the religion, and by the vast amount of time required for travelling, and for disseminating the new doctrines by personal labours.

1. There is extant a short epistle of Barnabas,* who was the companion of St. Paul, and here we find language confirmatory of the spirit instilled by Jesus. “The Lord hath given us another form, that we should have our souls *like the soul of a child* ;”—and enumerating the qualities essential to one who would walk in the path of light—“Thou shalt be gentle, thou shalt be quiet, thou shalt not keep any hatred in thy heart against thy brother. Thou shalt love thy neighbour *above thy*

* See Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers, translated by Archbishop Wake. 1693.

own soul. Thou shalt never cause divisions, but shalt make peace between those that are at variance, and bring them together." But the way of darkness is trodden by those who are influenced by "pride of power, murder, rapine, malice, covetousness," &c.

2. Clement, bishop of Rome, who is honourably mentioned by St. Paul as a fellow labourer,* has left one epistle, written to the Corinthians. It is replete with meekness, charity, and peace.

"You were all of you humble minded, not boasting of any thing, desiring rather to be subject than to govern, to give than to receive. Thus a firm and blessed and profitable peace was given unto you, and an insatiable desire of doing good." Then showing the nature of dissension, he writes, "In a word, envy and strife have overturned whole cities, and rooted out great nations from off the earth. . . . Let us therefore humble ourselves, brethren, laying aside all pride, and boasting, and foolishness, and anger. . . . Especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake, teaching gentleness and long-suffering; for thus he said, 'Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven unto you,' &c. Let us return to that peace which was the mark that from the beginning was set before us. . . . The heavens, holding fast to His appointment, are

* Philippians iv. 3.

subject to Him in peace. Day and night accomplish the courses that He has allotted to them, not disturbing one another. The sun and moon, and all the companies and constellations of stars, run the courses that He has appointed to them in concord, without departing in the least from them. . . . Even the smallest creatures live together in peace. All these has the great Creator commanded to observe concord and peace, *being good to all, but especially to us*, who flee to his mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ." . . . "Who is able to express the obligation of the love of God?" . . . "There is nothing base and sordid in charity; charity lifts not itself above others; admits of no divisions; is not seditious; but does all things in peace and amity."

3. Of Hermas, who is saluted by St. Paul as a contemporary Christian,* there is remaining a book, entitled—"The Shepherd or Pastor." We there meet with these passages: "Be innocent and without disguise, so shalt thou be like an infant, who knows no malice, which destroys the life of man. . . . Keep peace evermore with thy brother. Be patient; for if thou shalt be patient, the Holy Spirit, which dwelleth in thee, shall be pure, and not be darkened by any other evil spirits. But if any anger overtake thee, presently the Holy Spirit, which is in thee, will be strait-

* Rom. xvi. 14.

ened, and seek to depart from thee. Anger is foolish, and light, and empty : now bitterness is bred through folly ; by bitterness, anger ; by anger, fury." Among the works of iniquity he places—"wicked riots, pride, and remembrance of injuries," and opposes to them "faith, charity, concord." "Do not be contentious, but quiet ; keep up brotherhood to bear affronts."

4. Polycarp has left strong testimony in favour of our principles ; though all that remains of his works is a very brief epistle to the Philippians. He was the disciple of John, and related "what he had received from eye-witnesses concerning the Lord."* He says that Christians are to abstain from "*rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, or striking for striking, or cursing for cursing* ; but to remember what the Lord hath taught us—'Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven : be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy.' Pray for all the saints ; pray also for kings, and all that are in authority ; and *for those who persecute you, and hate you, and are the enemies of the cross ; that your fruits may be manifest in all things, and that ye may be perfect in Christ.*" Soon after the martyrdom of Polycarp, a circular epistle, concerning recent persecutions, was written to the church of Smyrna, and we meet with this passage : "Who can fail to

* See the interesting account given of Polycarp by Irenæus ad Flor. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xx.

admire the greatness of their mind, and that wonderful patience, and love of their Master, which then appeared in them? Who, when they were so flayed with whipping, that the frame and structure of their bodies were laid open to their very inward veins and arteries, nevertheless endured it. Not one of them let so much as a sigh or a groan escape from them."

5. Ignatius, the contemporary of Polycarp, has left us similar evidence of the peaceful construction placed on the Gospel. "Ye do also pray without ceasing *for all men*; for there is hope of repentance in them that they may attain unto God. Let them therefore at least be instructed *by your works*, if they will be no other way. *Be ye mild at their anger; humble at their boasting; to their blasphemies return your prayers; to their error your firmness in faith; when they are cruel be ye gentle; not endeavouring to imitate their ways.* Let us be their brethren in all kindness and moderation; but let us be followers of the Lord; for who was ever more unjustly used, more destitute, more despised?" "Nothing is better than peace, by which all war, both spiritual and earthly, is abolished." "The beginning is faith; the end charity." "Where there is division and wrath, God dwelleth not." "Bear with all men, even as the Lord with thee; support all in love. Bear the infirmities of all, as a perfect

combatant; where the labour is great, the gain is so too."

6. Justin Martyr, (A.D. 140,) came twenty years after Polycarp, and here full proof opens on our view.* He quotes the prophecy in Isaiah, that men should turn their swords into ploughshares, which he believed *then* to be in the act of fulfilment, the ground of his belief being the circumstance of all Christians refusing to fight. "That this prophecy is fulfilled," he says, "you have good reason to believe; for *we who were once slayers of one another, (engaged in warfare,) do not now fight against our enemies.*"† He also makes a distinction between soldiers and Christians, points out the duty of Christians *to love their foes*, and styles the devil, the father of all war. The Jews despised all not of their own race, and the Gentiles had considered the Jews as haters of mankind, and hostile to all nations. Alluding to this unhappy state of things, and the change effected by the doctrines of Jesus, he observes: "We who once hated each other, and delighted in mutual quarrels and slaughter, and according to custom refused to sit at the same table with those who were not of our own tribe and party,

* Clarkson's Review of the Primitive Christians begins with this father.

† Apol. i. cap. 39, "Ὁὐ πολεμοῦμεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς." The Greek word, *to fight*, means actually to fight as in *war*.—See also Justin's Dial. cum Tryphone; and Epist. ad Diogn.

now, since the appearance of Christ in the world, *live familiarly with them; pray for our enemies; and endeavour to persuade them who hate us unjustly, to order their lives according to the excellent precepts of Christ, that so they may have good hope to obtain the same rewards with us from the great Lord and Judge of all things.*"

"We pray for you (the Jews), that Christ would have mercy upon you, for he has taught us *to pray for our enemies, to love them and be merciful to them.* The Christians obey the laws that are made, and, by the exactness of their lives, go beyond that accuracy which the law requires of them. *They love all men, though all men study to afflict and persecute them.*"

7. Tatian, the disciple of Justin, speaks *in the same terms of war.*

8. Irenæus,* (A.D. 180,) in his youth had been a disciple of Polycarp; and he also affirms, that the famous prophecy relating to peace was accomplished in his time; "for the *Christians,*" he says, "*have changed their swords and lances into instruments of peace, and they now know not how to fight, but being smitten on one cheek, turn the other likewise.*"†

* We may judge that these were the *universal* opinions of Christians, when we remember that Clement flourished at Rome; Ignatius at Antioch; Polycarp at Smyrna; Justin Martyr in Syria; and Irenæus in France.

† "Percussi et alteram præbent maxillam."

9. Athenagoras, Theophilus, and others, who flourished about this period, make the "love of their enemies," which distinguished the Christian character, "a proof of the divinity of their religion:" and state, that Christians abstained from returning a blow, and would not even go to law with those who injured them.

10. Clement of Alexandria, who followed Irenæus at the distance of only sixteen years, gives to Christians the appellation of "peaceable," thus distinguishing them from others of the world; and says expressly, that the "*peaceable*," or Christians, so far from engaging in war, had neither weapon, nor sign of violence among them, and that they never used sword or bow, meaning by these the instruments of war. His opinion was *decisive against warfare*.

11. Tertullian, (A.D. 200,) believed the prophecy to be fulfilled. "You must confess that it has been accomplished, *as far as the practice of every individual is concerned, to whom it is applicable.*" "At this time," he says, "no Christian soldiers are to be found in the armies; and had not religion forbidden them to have recourse to arms, they are sufficiently numerous to defend themselves against persecution; but, said they, though we walk in the flesh, we do not war according to the flesh, for the *weapons of our warfare are not carnal.*" "Though the soldiers came to John," he

proceeds, “and received a certain form to be observed; and though the centurion believed, yet Jesus Christ, by disarming Peter, *disarmed every soldier afterwards*, for custom never sanctions an unlawful act.”* “Can a soldier’s life be lawful, when Christ has pronounced, that he who lives by the sword, shall perish by the sword? Can one who professes the peaceable doctrines of the gospel, be a soldier, when it is his duty not even to go to law? And shall he, *who is not to revenge his own wrongs*, be instrumental in bringing others into chains, imprisonment, torment, death?” In one of his discourses he observes, “We piously educate and train up orphans, and relieve the necessities of the indigent, and *render no man evil for evil*. . . . This is the proper goodness and excellency of Christianity, it being common to all men to love their friends, but peculiar only to Christians *to love their enemies*. . . .” So strongly knit were the ties of brotherhood among these excellent men, that he says it was the exclamation of heathens:—“See how these Christians love one another!” But Tertullian lived long enough to behold the approach of a different spirit among his fellow Christians.

We have now come to the end of the second century after the death of our Lord: we have

* “Omnem postea militem Dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit.”—*De Idol.* cap. xix; and see *De Cor. Mil.*, &c.

seen that to this period all war was considered unlawful by his followers; and it appears that there was not a single Christian to be found in the Roman army.*

During the period between 170 and 195, Cassius had rebelled against the Emperor Verus; and Claudius Albinus in one part of the world, and Pescennius Niger in another, had rebelled against the Emperor Severus. Suspicion as usual fell upon the Christians as being concerned in these proceedings; but Tertullian, in his discourse to Scapula, says, that "this accusation was totally groundless." — "You defamed us Christians," he says, "by charging us with having been guilty of treason to our emperors; but not a Christian could be found in any of the rebel armies, whether commanded by Cassius, Albinus, or Niger." This is important, for Cassius was master of all Syria, with its four legions; Niger, of the Asiatic and Egyptian legions; and Albinus, of those in Britain, which legions together contained between a third and a half of the standing legions of Rome; and the circumstance of no Christian being in them, is the more remarkable, because, according to the same Tertullian, Christianity had then spread over almost the whole of the known world.†

* As to the story of the "Thundering Legion," which seems to have been an entire forgery, see Note G.

† Clarkson.

In the first two centuries Christianity was in its purest and brightest condition, for proof of which assertion we need only turn to the early writers flourishing at that period.* According to these authorities they were then frugal, temperate, and moderate in all things: they were punctual to every word and engagement; and such lovers of truth, that, on being asked if they were Christians, they never denied it, though death might be the consequence. They loved each other as fellow Christians, and all men as brethren. They were kind, courteous, and charitable in the highest degree, abstained from all manner of violence, and prayed for those who persecuted them. They made no sacrifice of their conscience, and never refused to die for their religion.

In the third century, however, on which we are about to enter, this purity of conduct began to receive blemishes and stains of a lamentable character. Certain Christian *casuists*, of whom Tertullian speaks, had so far degenerated from the principles of their predecessors, as to believe, that many of the heathen customs might be complied with, though strictly prohibited by the church; in fact, that they might *go any length without the just imputation of idolatry, provided they did not sacrifice to the pagan gods, or become heathen priests.* To the ease which Christians enjoyed from the

* Clarkson.

death of Verus, to the tenth year of Severus, much of this corruption of manners is doubtless to be attributed.

Tertullian satirized, entreated, and reasoned against this occasional conformity of his brethren to pagan worship, and against the practice of several bearing the name of Christians, who now entered the Roman armies. And when the charge of being useless to the commonwealth was repeated against the Christians, he answered the accusation in part by a fact which he was obliged to acknowledge, “ We serve with you, and your armies.”*

But the corruptions were not even confined within these limits: the same writer furnishes us with instances of *manufacturers of idols being admitted into the ecclesiastical order*; and other authors† loudly complain of vices that were now creeping, like some deadly plant, over the fair flower of Christianity. Many indulged in luxuries, and began to be “envious and quarrelsome, and to dissemble, and to falsify their word.” They had lost that character which Pliny had been obliged to give of them, and for which they had been so justly celebrated.

Hand in hand with these sins, and as a fit companion, came war; and it is an admitted fact, that about this period, there were soldiers in the Roman

* Apol. cap. xlii.

† Cyprian and Eusebius.

armies who called themselves Christians, or had that name given to them by others. That they were *real Christians*, however, seems to be a question that admits of very little doubt ; for, independently of the principles of *real Christianity*, and of the practice of the purer age, the idolatrous rites to be performed by every soldier, still remained. They must have been the casuists of Tertullian, or nominal and corrupted Christians.

Those who yet preserved the Christian spirit, in its essential truth, still declared all war to be unlawful.

12. Origen. (A.D. 230.) Celsus, who lived at the end of the second century, attacked the Christian religion, and made it one of his charges against its professors, that *they refused to bear arms for the emperor, even in the case of necessity, and when their services would have been accepted*. He told them further, that if the rest of the empire were of their opinion, it would soon be over-run by the barbarians;* a charge that would hardly have been made, unless the fact had been publicly known. Origen answered this work,

* Gibbon, who seems to have hated the early Christians with as much zeal as Celsus displayed, brings the same charge. "Nor could their humane ignorance," he observes, "be convinced that it was lawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow creatures, either by the sword of justice or that of war ; even though their criminal or hostile attempts should threaten the peace and safety of the whole community."—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Chap. xv.

and did he deny or admit the charge? *He admits the accusation as stated by Celsus, that the Christians would not bear arms in his time, and justifies them for refusing, on the principle of the unlawfulness of war.* He says of himself and his brethren in general, “We no longer take up the sword against any nation, nor do we learn to make war any more. We have become, for the sake of Jesus, the children of peace.” And he maintains that Christians are the most useful of subjects, because they pray for their monarch. “By such means,” he says, “we fight for our king abundantly, but we take no part in his wars, though he urge us.”* “The more eminent any man is for piety and religion, he will be able to afford greater assistance to his prince than a great many armed soldiers that stand ready to fight for him, and to destroy his enemies.”

13. Cyprian, (A. D. 250,) in his epistle to Donatus, speaks thus: “Suppose thyself with me on the top of some exalted eminence, and thence looking down on the appearance of things below. Let our prospect take in the whole horizon, and let us view, with the indifference of persons not concerned in them, the various motions and agitations of human life. Thou wilt then, I dare say, have a real compassion for the circumstances of mankind, and for the posture in which the view

* Οὐ συστρατευόμεθα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπείγῃ.

will represent them. And when thou reflectest upon thy condition, thy thoughts will rise in transports of gratitude and praise to God for having made thy escape from the pollutions of the world. The things thou wilt principally observe, will be the highways beset with robbers, the seas with pirates; encampments, marches, and all the terrible forms of war and bloodshed. When a single murder is committed, it shall be deemed, perhaps, a crime; but that crime shall commence a virtue, when committed under the shelter of public authority: so that punishment is not rated by the measure of guilt; but the more enormous the size of the wickedness is, so much the greater is the chance of impunity." Exhorting his brethren to good courage, he says: "Those who have gone before never stirred in the hottest conflict, but maintained their ground, with a free confession, an unshaken mind, a divine confidence, destitute indeed of external weapons, but armed with the shield of faith." And alluding to the universal good-will inculcated by his religion, "We pray night and day," he exclaims, "not only for ourselves, but for all men."

Cyprian brings us to the end of the third century; and in the fourth, the church became more and more degenerate. Crimes, which appear most inimical to our faith, were openly practised; and many professing Christians took up arms without

the slightest repugnance. We learn from Lactantius, that persons, denominated Christians, not only attended heathen sacrifices, but even *filled offices in the heathen priesthood*. Indeed, the corruption of our faith was fixed, as it were, by law, during this age, and state policy usurped the throne of religion. The Emperor Constantine at this time professed to be a Christian; and many of the worldly-minded of that name, rejoicing to see a monarch of their persuasion, submitted to the pagan customs, and sacrificed all conscientious scruples to their ease and safety. Many heathens, also, at once assumed the Christian title, merely out of compliment to their sovereign, and without any real and sincere belief. When those who presumed to bear the name of Christ, could yield to *idolatry*, we need not wonder that they also submitted to *war*. The then-existing government abolished the old military oath, and substituted one even more blasphemous, when considered in connection with its object. This political manœuvre, however, salved the weak conscience, and was sufficient to persuade those who were determined to be persuaded. Hence that beautiful spirit which had once inspired Christianity, gradually sank away, and the anomaly was presented of a *Christian soldier* !

Even the conversion of the Emperor Constantine was mixed up with circumstances - that were

published as having actually occurred; and as affording a sanction for war. History informs us, that Constantine, being mistrustful of the pagan deities, resolved to entreat the God of the Christians for success in an intended expedition; that he saw in the heavens a pillar of light in the fashion of a cross, with a Greek inscription,—“In this overcome;” that on the following night, the Saviour appeared to him in a vision, with this cross in his hand, and commanded him to make it a royal standard, and to cause it to be carried before him in his wars, as a token of victory and safety. This account is classed by Paley with those in which, allowing the phenomenon to be real, the fact to be true, it still remains *doubtful* whether a miracle were wrought, as Constantine saw the vision of our Saviour in a *dream*; and the fact of “the cross appearing in the heavens,” says Paley, “is very deficient in historical evidence.”

We would merely ask, is it compatible with the general tenor of Christianity, that our Lord, having finished his work of love and good-will to all men on earth, should appear, three hundred years after his death, to encourage the sanguinary passions and destructive qualities of the human race? Would he, who suffered all things himself, and who commanded his disciples to endure with-

* “Evidences of Christianity,” Prop. 2. c. i.

out resisting, would he authorize men, Christians only in name, to slaughter their fellow creatures? The anecdote is so repugnant to the lessons he has left us, that it should not be admitted for a moment. As well might we give credence to the fancied or invented commission of Mahomet. The source of this deceit, and of Mahomet's, was probably one and the same, and they both answered the same end, for they sufficed to excite the valour of the soldiers, and to gratify the ambition of the leaders.

Amidst all this corruption, however, a few favoured Christians, who were still enabled clearly to behold their faith, persevered in maintaining the unlawfulness of fighting.

14. Lactantius, (A.D. 300,) in his Treatise concerning the True Worship of God, says, "To engage in war cannot be lawful for the righteous man, whose warfare is that of righteousness itself;"* and again, "It can never be lawful to kill a man, whose person the Divine Being designed to be sacred, as to violence." He inculcates the duty of universal love with great force: "Being all created by one God, and sprung from one common parent, we should reckon ourselves akin, and obliged to love all mankind; and that our innocence may be perfect, *not only not to do an in-*

* "Ita neque militare justo licebit, cujus militia est ipsa justitia."—*De Vero Cultu*, B. vi. c. 20.

jury to another, but not to revenge one, when done to ourselves; for which reason we are commanded to pray for our very enemies; we ought therefore, to be kind and sociable, that we may help and assist each other; for being ourselves obnoxious to misery, we may the more safely hope for that help, in case we need it, which we have given to others. God is not pleased with the blood of beasts, but with the charity of men."

15. To the above distinguished names, we may add those of Archelaus, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerom, and Cyril, all of whom were of opinion that *it was unlawful for Christians to go to war*. We shall merely give an extract from the writings of Chrysostom.

"Under the law," he writes, "God did not bind us to so great a measure of virtue, as he now doth under the gospel. Then it was permitted to take some revenge for injuries done, as to revile them that reviled us, to extract an eye for an eye, &c. But since the coming of Christ, the way to heaven is made much straiter and narrower than before, both by the addition of many new precepts not given in the old law, and also by straining those that were given to a much higher key."

Nay, so convinced were many, even in the midst of so much apostasy, of the inconsistency of war with their religion, that they willingly suffered martyrdom rather than burden their souls

with the crime of murder. The broad principle of love and forgiveness of their enemies formed the chief motive of their constancy and firmness in resisting all inducements to fight, and the simple declaration generally was, "I am a Christian, and therefore cannot fight." And where could there be a stronger reason, a more opposed contrast, Christianity and war being as opposite as Heaven and Hell!

Under the reign of Dioclesian (A.D. 300) a large number of Christians refused to serve in the army, and in consequence of their refusal many suffered martyrdom.* The most striking and interesting illustration of this spirit was afforded by Maximilian,† who having been brought before the tribunal, in order to be enrolled as a soldier, and having been asked his name by Dion, the proconsul, replied, "Why wouldst thou know my name? *I am a Christian, and cannot fight.*" When enrolled, he refused to be marked, still asserting that he was a Christian, upon which Dion exclaimed, "Bear arms, or thou shalt die." Maximilian answered, "*I cannot fight if I die. I am not a soldier of this world, but a soldier of God.*" And being questioned as to the motive of his conduct, he replied, that his own mind, and he who called him,

* Grotius de Jure Bell. &c. lib. I. cap. ii. s. 8. Ruinart, Acta Martyrum; de S. Maximiliano.

† Clarkson on Doctrine, &c., of Early Christians, from which work these illustrations are taken.

had persuaded him. "I am a Christian," he added, "and it is not lawful for me to wear such a mark about my neck, when I have received the saving mark of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, whom thou knowest not, who died to give us life, and whom God gave for our sins. Him all we Christians obey."

"Take thy arms," said the proconsul, "and receive the mark, or thou shalt suffer a miserable death." "But I shall not perish," answered the Christian. "My name is already enrolled with Christ. *I cannot fight. My arms are with the Lord. I cannot fight for any earthly consideration. I am now a Christian.*" Dion said, "Among the life guards of our masters, Dioclesian, and Maximian, and Constantius, and Maximus, there are Christian soldiers, and they fight." The young man answered, "They know best what is expedient for them; but *I am a Christian, and it is unlawful to do evil.*" On being condemned to die by the sword, he replied, "Thanks be to God!"

He was only twenty years of age, and yet when led to the place of execution, he displayed the same undaunted resolution in obeying the will of his Lord. "My dear brethren," he exclaimed, "endeavour with all your might that it may be your portion to see the Lord, and that he may give you such a crown;" and then he calmly said to his father, "Give the executioner the soldier's

coat thou hast got for me; and when I shall receive thee in the company of the blessed martyrs, we may rejoice together with the Lord." After this he suffered. We should remark, that the *unlawfulness of fighting* was principally urged by Maximilian, as a reason for not entering the army, while his repugnance is not stated to have so strongly arisen even from the idolatry connected with the military service.

The same principle of the unlawfulness of fighting under the Christian dispensation was chiefly pleaded by Marcellus, who was a centurion during the reign of Galerius, and being converted, immediately quitted his profession. On a festival given in honour of the Emperor's birthday, this soldier threw down his belt, and in the face of the standards, declared with a loud voice, that he would no longer serve in the army, for that he had become a Christian. "I hold in detestation," said he to the soldiers, "the worship of your gods; gods which are made of wood and stone; gods which are deaf and dumb." So far Marcellus seems to have been influenced by the idolatrous portion of a soldier's duties, but he added: *It is not lawful for a Christian, who is the servant of Christ the Lord, to bear arms for any earthly consideration.*" He was put to death, and almost immediately after his execution, Cassian, who was the notary to the same legion, refused to serve

any longer, and declared that the sentence of Marcellus was unjust. He is described in the record preserved by Ruinart, *to have avowed the same sentiments* as Marcellus; and like him to have suffered death.

We are informed by Sulpitius Severus that when the Roman Emperor Julian was engaged in bestowing upon his troops a largess with a view to some approaching battle, his bounty was refused by Martin, a soldier in his army, who had been previously converted to Christianity. "Hitherto," said he to Cæsar, "I have fought for thee; permit me now to fight for my God. Let those who are about to engage in war, accept the donative; I am the soldier of Christ; *for me the combat is unlawful.*" So another soldier, Tarachus, was examined at Tarsus in Cilicia. To the questions put to him, he replied: "I have led a military life and am a Roman. I was born at Claudiopolis, and *because I am a Christian I have abandoned my profession of a soldier.*"

And here we may say, with Clarkson,—“The proposition with which we set out, we presume, has been sufficiently proved. It has been made to appear that *while the lamp of Christianity burnt pure and bright, not only the Fathers of the Church held it unlawful for Christians to bear arms, but those who came within the pale of it, abstained from the use of them, and this to the certain loss of*

their lives; *and that it was not till Christianity became corrupted, that its followers became soldiers.* This is a most awful fact for those, who profess the Christian religion, but who sanction war at the present day. The consideration of it ought to make them tremble as to the ground of their opinions on this subject. It ought to make them fly to the Divine Writings, and inquire with an anxiety proportioned to the magnitude of the case, what scope the latter afforded them for a construction of the precepts therein contained, so injurious both to the morals and to the happiness of mankind.”

We have now endeavoured to trace the pacific principles of Jesus, as first unfolded to the view of man by his great Teacher, and then gradually developed in the conduct of his followers for three centuries.

And here the history of peace, as far as it regards the great mass of Christians, ceases. Since that period, the whole earth has been deluged in human blood. Man has uplifted his impious hand against man, brother against brother, but, alas! what is still more wonderful, Christian against Christian! The Angel of Peace visited this world with Jesus; but shortly after his departure, she, like the dove from the ark, not finding a place of rest on earth, now an ocean of *blood*, ascended once more to her dwelling in the heavens!

CHAPTER X.

SECTION I.—*Summary and Review.*

LET us take a brief review of the important subject we have been discussing :—

First, no argument in opposition to peace can be deduced from the Jewish dispensation, as the cases cannot be rendered parallel, and as the laws of the Israelites in this respect have been totally and expressly changed by a more perfect system.

Secondly, the prophecies relating to Jesus foretell universal and permanent peace as an essential attribute to his religion ; the same notion prevailed in the heathen world ; the same intelligence was given by the angels immediately preceding his appearance.

Thirdly, our Lord came, and taught, and lived, and died, as the Prince of Peace. Precept and example were equally directed to the establishment of principles, which invite us to love God and to love mankind ; to promote an universal brotherhood ; to endure and forgive injuries ; to bless our enemies, and to return good for evil.

Fourthly, in this pacific and enduring sense was the Gospel understood, obeyed, and preached by the disciples : in this sense was the example of Jesus followed by the primitive Christians, while the religion itself was pure and inviolate.

When Christianity became corrupted, *Idolatry and war* were together practised by its professors. Idolatry has in a great measure ceased ; war alone continues in undiminished strength and fury. The whole professing Christian world, with the admirable exception of the Quakers and the Moravians, and some individuals of other sects, still nourish this most pernicious and horrible of corruptions.

SECTION 2.—*Effect of the conduct of professing Christians on their religion.*

We have examined the doctrines of Christianity with reference to our subject, and let the reader contrast with them the misery, and destruction caused, the passions and the vices nourished, by war: let him do this in his own mind, and in a moment he must allow that there is not a more dangerous foe to our religion than this devastating monster. Of this we may be certain, *that true Christianity and war cannot exist together.* “As contrary as cruelty is to mercy, tyranny to charity,” says Jeremy Taylor, “so is war and bloodshed to the meekness and gentleness of the Christian religion.”

What extraordinary delusion oppresses the human race? Even before the appearance of Christianity there was some mark of compunction

in the destruction of human life, some feeling of sorrow and offence, that does not exist, and is not displayed at the present day. "If," observes Grotius, "by the Jewish laws an involuntary murderer was obliged to flee to a place of refuge; if God prohibited David from building a temple to him because his hands were defiled with blood, though his wars might be called religious contests; if among the ancient Greeks, persons who had defiled themselves with slaughter without any fault of theirs, required expiation, who does not see, especially a Christian man, how wretched and ill fated a thing war is, and how earnestly even a just war should be avoided? Among the Greeks professing Christianity," he adds, "the rule had been long observed, that those who had slain an enemy in war, were for a time debarred from all sacred rites."

By our actions we disgrace the name of Christians, and bring our holy faith into contempt and disrepute.

The Mahometan scoffs at our assertions, when we declare that our pacific religion is superior to his cruel and sanguinary doctrines.* The pagan, who probably himself has suffered violence at the hands of Christians, either altogether rejects the labours of the missionary, or, adopting the offered faith, beholds it in a purer light than those who style themselves the civilised and the enlightened.

* See Note H.

“If we had all walked in love and purity,” a converted Hindoo was accustomed to say, “what multitudes ere this, we might have hoped, would have embraced the gospel !”*

The infidel taunts us with our inconsistency, and though generally blind to truth, yet can see the manifest inducements to peace, which are scattered throughout the lessons of Christ. This charge against us is perceptible in many works, and particularly in those of Voltaire. “It would seem,” he says, “that the law of loving our neighbour as ourselves was made only for the Quakers; and, in truth, how can any one pretend that he loves his neighbour as himself, when, for reward, he will shoot or stab him, and, at the same time he exposes himself to be killed; might it not rather be truly said, that he hates his neighbour as himself?” He then reproaches the preachers of the time when he wrote, who made so many sermons against impurity and other smaller evils, while they were silent against those various kinds of murder, those robberies, those violences, and that universal rage, by which, under pretence of necessary war, the world is laid waste. “Put together,” he adds, “all the vices of all ages and all places, and they will not come up to the mischiefs or enormities of one campaign.”†

* See Memoir of Pitambura Singhu—a converted Hindoo.

† In another part of his works he observes: “The primitive Christians without exception, held the same sentiments with rela-

The Jew here finds reason to exult. Some few years since, when it was advertised that a Christian sermon would be preached in favour of peace, a paper was found affixed to the church by a Jew, and it had words to this effect. "Our Messiah, when he comes, will establish a system of mercy, peace, and kindness upon earth, while among you Christians, nothing but disputes, animosities, and cruelties, mark your passage through the world. Probably your religion sanctions these things; ours does not. Has the golden era of public peace and private love prophesied in the sacred volumes ever yet been witnessed? Speak candidly, Christian, has it been once seen within the last eighteen hundred years?"*

Should we not bow down in repentant humility at the thought that we have thus exposed our Lord and his truths to such unmerited reproach! If Christianity be a mere fable, why not openly explode it at once? But if it be a perfect moral system, based upon truth, and adapted to universal happiness, having God for its author, Christ for its herald, and the peace and welfare of mankind for its objects, then, what madness impels us

tion to war, as did the Essenes and some others, and as the Quakers now do. Tertullian speaks with the most strength on these legal murders.

* See the "Herald of Peace," for July, 1820. We may say, that this golden era has been seen among Christians for nearly three centuries after the death of Christ.

thus to trifle with so serious, so vital a theme, thus to play the hypocrite by asserting the importance of our faith, and yet acting as if it were an absurdity and a falsehood, with regard to this world and the next? Too many Christians of the present day “profess that they know God; but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate.”*

It is an appalling truth, that^d the majority of those who profess the doctrines of Jesus, have *no trust in a supreme and ruling Providence.*†

“We can talk with sufficient fluency,” observes an able writer,‡ “of trusting in Providence, but in the application of it to our conduct in life, we know wonderfully little. Who is it that confides in Divine Providence, and for what does he trust Him? Does his confidence induce him to set aside his own views of interest and safety, and simply to obey precepts, which appear inexpedient and unsafe? This is the confidence that is of value and of which so little is known. There are many who believe that war is dis-

* Titus i. 16.

† “The dread of being destroyed by our enemies, if we do not go to war with them, is a plain and unequivocal proof of our disbelief in the superintendence of Divine Providence.”—*The lawfulness of Defensive War impartially considered: by a Clergyman of the Church of England.*

‡ Jonathan Dymond on the Applicability of Pacific Principles to the Conduct of States.

allowed by Christianity, and who would rejoice that it were for ever abolished, but there are few who are willing to maintain an undaunted and unyielding stand against it. They can talk of the loveliness of peace, aye, and argue against the lawfulness of war; but when difficulty or suffering would be the consequence, they will not refuse to do what they know to be unlawful, they will not practise the peacefulness which they say they admire. Those who are ready to sustain the consequences of undeviating obedience, are the supporters of whom Christianity stands in need."

We have seen the pacific construction put upon our religion by those, who could probably judge more truly, than we are capable of doing; we have seen that the doctrines of our Lord are essentially peaceful, and yet we behold those, who pretend to act under their influence, engaging in continual and destructive warfare. Has our religion then changed its character? No! *we* have changed, but "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."* Alas! his lessons are disregarded; we not only reject them ourselves, but cause them to be rejected by others, to whom they would be of the greatest benefit.

We have no gratitude towards him, who died to save us from those crimes, in which we now

* Hebrews xiii. 8.

glory. We suffer the Mahometan, the pagan, the infidel and the Jew, to cast reproach on the name of our blessed Lord.—Nay more! we crucify him again and again by our unworthy conduct. “It is impossible,” says St. Paul, “for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; *seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.*”^{*} Yes! when the Christian world refuse to obey the love and peace, which were taught by Jesus, and prefer to mingle in the horrors of strife and bloodshed, they resemble the impious multitude, that demanded the release of a murderer and the crucifixion of the blessed Saviour!

* Hebrews vi. 3, 4.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

PART II.

THE DUTIES OF MAGISTRATES AND PEACE OFFICERS IN
CASES OF TUMULTS, INSURRECTIONS, AND INVASIONS,
WITH THE MOST EFFECTUAL METHOD OF PREVENTING
SUCH CALAMITIES.

ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND PART.

CHAPTER I.

THE PREVENTION OF INVASIONS BY THE DISCONTINUANCE OF INTERNATIONAL WAR.—EXAMPLE OF WILLIAM PENN'S GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER II.

THE PREVENTION OF TUMULTS AND RIOTS.

- SECTION 1.—By the Discontinuance of International War.
2.—By a National Religious Education.
3.—By Improvement of the People's Physical Condition.
4.—By Appointment of Conservators of the Peace.
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CHAPTER III.

THE DUTY OF MAGISTRATES IN CASES OF INVASION AND REBELLION.

EXAMPLES.—Tumult in Rome.

Druids.

Wat Tyler.

The French Revolution.

The Irish Rebellion.

The Objection, that liberty would be lost, considered.

“ Put up thy sword !”

John xviii. 11.

“ With God all things are possible.”

Mark x. 27.

“ Pax est tranquilla Libertas.”

“ Peace is tranquil liberty.”

Cicero.

P E A C E.

CHAPTER I.

THE PREVENTION OF INVASIONS BY THE DISCONTINUANCE OF INTERNATIONAL WAR.

WERE the views advocated in this work purely utopian, the reader might find us adopting the conduct of the mere enthusiast, who does not reduce his theory into a practical form; or he might see us following in the steps of the satirist, who lashes the vices of the day without offering any remedy for their suppression.

But, as we have no other object than the welfare of our fellow beings, instead of misleading their judgments or of inflicting useless censure, we shall endeavour to propose some feasible plan, that may tend to ameliorate their condition.

In the former part of our subject, it has been declared that the destruction of human life, whe-

ther it be caused by national or civil war, by aggression or by resistance, is unlawful; let us now turn to the measures which should be adopted in these cases, where men have hitherto had recourse to arms. The prevention of invasions and of tumults first demands our attention; and secondly we will consider the most advisable means of treating them, should they arise.

That prevention is better, more merciful, and more certain than cure is so generally acknowledged, that it has grown into a maxim. The obligation of rooting up the tree of crime is paramount to that of destroying its envenomed fruit.

We see no legitimate mode of preventing an invasion, except by the *diffusion of a Christian spirit*. Offensive warfare, to which invasion is but an incident, will here find its antidote. "War," observes Channing, "will never yield but to the principles of universal justice and love, and these have no sure root but in the religion of Jesus Christ. Christianity is the true remedy for war, not Christianity in name, not such Christianity as we see. . . . but Christianity as it lived in the soul and came forth in the life of its Founder; a religion that reveals man as the object of God's infinite love, and which commends him to the unbounded love of his brethren; a religion, the essence of which is self-denial, self-sacrifice in the

cause of human nature; a religion which proscribes, as among the worst sins, the passions of man for rule and dominion over his fellow creatures; which knows nothing of rich or poor, high or low, bond or free, and casts down all the walls of partition, which sever men from one another's sympathy and respect. Christian love alone can supplant war, and this love is not a mere emotion, a tenderness awakened by human suffering, but an intelligent, moral, spiritual love, a perception and deep feeling of the sacredness of human nature, a recognition of the inalienable rights, the solemn claims of every human being."

And what could so powerfully propagate this holy influence, or so effectually ward off invasions, as the adoption of measures for *the abolition of all international war*? Christianity destroys the motives which lead one people to invade another; the establishment of a Court of Nations, such as we shall propose in the Third Part, would leave no object for an attack upon a country, because every redress could be afforded by an appeal to the supreme tribunal.

But we may go farther even than this, and assert that, if one country alone were to act upon truly Christian principles and to adopt a pacific policy, its territories would never be invaded.

Illustrations in support of this proposition, unfortunately are not very numerous, but there

remains one example, which bears the strongest testimony in our favour.*

We allude to Pennsylvania, whose history affords a complete answer to the objection, that it would be impossible to live in entire peace, and that any nation laying aside war would inevitably be destroyed. The narration of the settlement of this colony presents a fine instance of the advantage and security, which attend an unlimited confidence in God. William Penn, anxious to escape from persecution, obtained a grant of the province which now bears his name, for the habitation of himself and his followers. The territory was surrounded by seven nations of red Indians, supposed to be the most savage and cruel of all their tribes. Penn was told that they were faithless and bloodthirsty, that arms alone had been and could be employed against them, with any hope of success, that no faith could be kept with them, and that they must be driven out or exterminated. But he listened not to these assertions, for he depended alone on the pure principles of Christianity, he placed his confidence in his Almighty Father. "He believed the Indians to be men, and that they were therefore accessible to the language and motives of humanity. He believed in the omnipotence of justice and good faith, and disbelieved all the sophistry, by which wars and violence are

* See Note I.

maintained by an interested generation. He resolved to try the experiment of kindness and peace; it was a grand and momentous trial; it was no other than to put the truth of Christianity to the test, and to learn whether the world's philosophy or that of the Bible were the best. He demonstrated in the face of the world, and all its arguments, and all its practice, that peace may be maintained when men will it; and that there is no need, and therefore no excuse for the bloodshed and the violence that are perpetually marking the expanding boundaries of what is oddly enough termed civilization.”*

He knew that the Indians had a better title to the lands than that which lay in a monarch's breath, for they inherited by the charter of Heaven. He therefore bought them of the rightful owners, and only accepted the grant from King Charles, in order to have a colourable title against the rest of the world. To ratify a treaty for the purchase, a grand convocation of the tribes had been appointed near the spot where Philadelphia now stands, and it was agreed that Penn and the Indian chiefs should exchange faith under the spreading branches of a prodigious elm tree, that grew on the borders of the river. We give this interesting meeting, as described in the *Edinburgh Review*: “As soon as Penn drew near the spot

* “Colonization and Christianity,” by William Howitt.

where the Sachems were assembled, the whole multitude of the Indians threw down their weapons, and seated themselves on the ground in groups, each under his own chieftain, and the presiding chief intimated to William Penn, that the natives were ready to hear him. Having been thus called upon, he began: 'The Great Spirit,' he said, 'who made him and them, who ruled the heaven and the earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the uttermost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love.' He then unrolled the parchment, which contained the confirmation of the treaty for the purchase, and for lasting amity. Among other articles it was agreed that if disputes should arise between the Indians and the Quakers, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English and half Indians. He then paid for the land; and added, that he would not compare the friendship between him and them

to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood as the Christians, and the same as if one man's body was to be divided into two parts. The Indians in return pledged themselves to live in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the sun and moon shall endure." For the space of more than seventy years, and so long indeed as the Quakers retained the chief power in the government, *the peace and amity were never violated*; and a large and most striking, though solitary example, was afforded of the facility with which they who are really sincere and friendly in their own views, may live in harmony with those who are supposed to be peculiarly fierce and faithless. The Indians during this period were ready to commit outrages on other states, such outrages as might be looked for from men whom civilization had not reclaimed from cruelty, and to whom religion had not taught forbearance. "But whatever the quarrels of the Pennsylvanian Indians were with others, they uniformly respected and held as it were sacred, the territories of William Penn."* "The Pennsylvanians never lost man, woman, or child by them, which neither the colony of Maryland, nor that of Virginia could say, no more than the great colony of New England."†

* Clarkson.

† Oldmixon, anno 1708.

We cannot wonder at this tranquillity, for who could be base enough to attack the unarmed, the peaceable and the loving? Nay, who could forbear from feeling reverence for such a people? While the Friends retained the government of Pennsylvania, it was tranquil and happy; it was governed without an army and never assailed by an enemy. Its security was molested and its peace destroyed, when the men who had directed its counsels and would not engage in war, *were out-voted in the legislature*; when they, who supposed there was greater security in the sword than in Christianity, became the predominating body. From that time the Pennsylvanians, with the exception of that portion which still remained of the Quakers, transferred their confidence from the principles of religion, to their armies, and from that time they have been subject to war.

The Indians, however, still retained their firm attachment to the Friends; and more than a century afterwards, and after the government of the state had been resumed by England and its old martial system introduced there, when civil war broke out between the colonies and the mother country, and the Indians were instigated by the mother to use the tomahawk and the scalping knife against the children; these Indians, who laid waste the settlements of the colonists with

fire, and drenched them in blood, remembered the treaty with *the sons of Onas and kept it inviolate*. Month after month the Friends saw the destruction of their neighbours' houses and lands, yet they lived in peace in the midst of this desolation. They would neither retire to garrisons, nor provide themselves with arms; they remained openly in the country and still pursued their peaceful occupations. The Indians revered their confiding and pacific conduct, and as the red men came from their hidden lairs in the woods, they lifted the latches of the doors belonging to the Friends, to see if they remained in full reliance on their faith, and then they passed on. When a house was secured with lock or bolt, they knew that suspicion had entered, and they grew suspicious too.

Three of the Society, however, were killed, and who were they? *The only members that had abandoned their principles*. Two of these victims were men, who, in the simple language of the narrator, "used to go to their labour without any weapons, and trusted to the Almighty and depended on his providence to protect them; (it being their principle not to use weapons of war to offend others, or to defend themselves;) *but a spirit of distrust* taking place in their minds, they took weapons of war to defend themselves; and the Indians, who had seen them several times without them and

let them alone, saying they were peaceable men and hurt nobody, therefore they would not hurt them; now seeing them have guns, and supposing they designed to kill the Indians, they therefore shot the men dead." The third whose life was sacrificed was a woman, who "had remained in her habitation, not thinking herself warranted in going to a fortified place for preservation, neither she, her son, nor daughter, nor to take thither the little ones; but the poor woman after some time began to let in a slavish fear, and advised her children to go with her to a fort not far from their dwelling." She went, and shortly afterwards the Indians "lay by the way and killed her."*

These are the only exceptions to the perfect security that attended the Friends through all the horrible devastation of the American war! What an example of the adaptation of Christian doctrines to the interests of man is here developed! Search the annals of the world, and you will not find a statesman equal to William Penn, who dared to disregard the rules of subtlety and of injustice so long practised among nations professing to be Christian and civilized, and who desired to repose all faith on the lessons contained in the Bible. He established a state on the simple basis of justice; he recognised the rights of universal

* "Select Anecdotes," &c., by John Barclay.

brotherhood; and the world cannot charge this truly Christian and high-minded legislator with the death of a human being.*

Thus where the trial has been made, it has been found to be perfectly safe; God has manifested his pleasure and has preserved those who were anxious to rely upon him. Let it not then be said that a nation actuated by the dictates of pure Christianity, must fall; it is impious incredulity alone that can nourish such an idea. There is nothing in the history of Pennsylvania that might not be adopted by any other country. Nay, much stronger would be the probability of our success. If the savage Indian would not attack the unarmed, would the civilized Christian be guilty of such an act? Suppose we knew of a country having adopted a determination not to fight, but to live in peace with all men, could we attack that nation? And if not, why are we to suppose ourselves better than others? Great Britain has often sent fleets, and fire-ships, and armed men with all their engines of destruction, to burn cities and to put the defenders to death if they resist. The consequences have been slaughter, desolation, misery, and crime. Every survivor's heart is filled with revenge, and he and his children seek the first opportunity of inflicting injury on their invaders. "Let us suppose," ob-

* See Note K.

serves an eloquent writer,* “that instead of such an armament, our rulers were to commission ships laden with corn, and clothes, and money, at only half the amount of expense; and to accompany the gift with a letter to the government of a neighbouring country to this effect: ‘Through the goodness of God we had an abundant harvest, and hearing that you have not, we send a present of corn to the widows and fatherless, the orphan, the blind, and the lame; as many of them may be unprovided with raiment for the inclemency of winter, accept of the clothing, which will be delivered to you by our fleet, and divide among those, who are in the greatest distress, the money which our messengers carry in their hands.’ What influence would such conduct have upon the people of that country? Would it leave any stings behind in their souls? No. It would conciliate the esteem and affection of all. Tell them after this, ‘Britain wishes to injure you.’ No, they would say, it cannot be: it is impossible that the people of that land should desire to do us harm. Command them to buckle on their armour and wage war with the English. They would answer, ‘We cannot fight with them; the weapons would drop from our hands; we love them too well to hurt them; continue in peace.’ If any state would act in this way to its neigh-

* Rev. David Bogue.

bours, it would have no enemies; the sound of war would not be heard in its dominions." As the price of love, is love, so peace can be bought by peace alone.

CHAPTER II.

PREVENTION OF TUMULTS AND INSURRECTIONS.

SECTION 1.—*By discontinuance of International War.*

REBELLIONS and tumults generally rest on the same ground as invasions; they spring from the same feverish and military excitement; the same thirst for glory or revenge; the same deficiency in moral principle. Though there are many mediate causes, which nourish domestic outbreaks, such as national or local excitement, produced by war, writings, speeches, and also by elections, which are conducted in a mode disgraceful to a civilized community; though insurrections too frequently take place through extreme distress, yet all may be traced to their fountain-head, and that will be found in the want of a restraint upon the passions. It is passion that impels the warrior and the rebel.

The mighty engine of Christianity is destined to level with the dust of past ages domestic, as well as foreign violence. And as a means to this end, we would here also advise the abolition of all war. This evil, more than any other, tends to the demoralization of a people. A vast crime in itself, it disseminates a criminal influence in wide circles, and nourishes unholy passions in the breasts of thousands. The recklessness with which life is destroyed, property spoiled, and right trampled upon, is apt to be communicated not only to those in the military service, but to the people, both of the conquering and conquered state. Soldiers are capable of committing the most terrific crimes during the time of war, and as well might we expect the deadly upas tree to become a health-bearing plant, as imagine that the heart, which has been once seared by a participation in such deeds, can ever recover its former character.

The result of rearing such men as these among the people it is truly frightful to contemplate. The canker-worm is thus placed at the very heart of society. Whether disbanded or retained in the service, the influence of the military character is spread among the people; the excitement of war rouses their passions, and fits them for insurrection of every kind. Towns, at which soldiers have been stationed for a period, have frequently

been exposed to a fatal change in the habits and manners of the lower classes. Abolish war, if you would abolish rebellions and have internal as well as external concord.

Above all, the discontinuance of war would inspire even the lowest individual with *a respect for human life*, a sentiment which has seldom been encouraged.*

What can we expect from the people, when they behold their rulers regardless of the rights attending the life and property of others, whom they are told, they may slay and spoil; when they hear even from their pastors, whom they have been taught to reverence, prayers for victory in the bloody contest? will they who have such examples, such continual excitement, and thirst for blood before them, be influenced by the precepts of morality, which sound coldly and harshly on their ears? No! It is example, it is practice, that influences the generality of mankind, when mere codes of moral action and theories of duty are totally disregarded.

The nature of man, which revolts at murder, being disabused of its prejudices, which the sanction of civil authority nourishes, and taught that to slay a fellow-being is nothing less than murder,

* This is also one of many reasons for the abolition of capital punishments, and the infliction of severe penalties for the barbarous and unchristian practice of duelling.

whether authorised by political motives, national or domestic, would resume powers, at present concealed, and at length would be incapable of shedding human blood. *Who ever heard of a mob of Quakers?* and yet they have passions like other men, but they are curbed and properly directed by the happy restraints of religion. During the period that Pennsylvania was governed by the Friends, its tranquillity was never disturbed by a riot.

Let the government of a nation form a model for the conduct of their people; let them at once begin to hold life sacred, wherever it may be found; to respect the rights of property, wherever it may be situated, and then their subjects will gradually imbibe a like reverence for the life and property of their countrymen. Christian duty should flow from the clergy and government through every channel of society, but the source must be pure or the stream will likewise be tainted.

SECTION 2.—*By a National Religious Education.**

An individual, who has not been sufficiently fortunate to receive the blessings of mental cultivation, is generally a victim to his passions and the tool of designing and wicked men. Uninfluenced by the light of revelation or of reason,

* See an excellent work by John Forster—"On the Evils of Popular Ignorance."

he blindly follows the first impulse, regardless of the future, and free from any salutary check. These evils are intense in power, and vast in magnitude, in proportion as ignorance itself is extended. How awful is such licentiousness, when springing from the ignorance of united millions! The contagiousness of bad example, and of sinful associations, the unbridled exercise of each propensity, perhaps, inflamed by intoxicating drugs, these, these alone are sufficient to cause every storm and every disorder which we behold in society.

Pure Christianity, like our Saviour walking on the deep, would still the troubled waters; the heaving waves would subside, the angry winds be hushed, the tempest would cease, and the vessel of the state would ride safely over the smooth surface to its haven of rest.

The object of all education is, or ought to be, the victory of reason over passion. Its aim is to strengthen the higher faculties by exercise, and to weaken the power of the lower propensities. "The great purpose of education," says Home, "is to form the man and the citizen, that he may be virtuous, happy in himself and useful to society."

Sound instruction would teach the people, that Christianity actually commands peace on all occasions, and that any physical resistance is forbidden more by the laws of God, than by the

laws of man. They would learn how our Saviour and his early followers endured evil; and while education of itself would tell them that all great triumphs, which truly deserve the name, have been, and must be gained by moral power, religion would bring forward her all-powerful aid, and command them never to depart from this lesson of wisdom.* They would learn to regard the kingdom of heaven as superior to every other consideration; they would be taught to love all men, and to admit the dictates of charity. Thus remembering the cares and responsibilities of a government, and not imputing corrupt motives hastily and without examination, they would co-operate with their rulers for the safety and welfare of the nation.

Religious cultivation restrains the passions, and directs them to their legitimate use. How fertile a cause of all crime intemperance is, need not be told! The influence of good men and the weight of opinion are happily weakening this devastating

* "To say that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation, than duty taught and understood; it is to affirm that a blind man may tread surer by a guide, than a seeing man can by a light. And it is without all controversy, that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, amiable, and pliant to government; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwarting, and mutinous; and the evidence of time doth clear this assertion, considering that the most barbarous, rude, and unlearned times, have been most subject to tumults, seditions, and changes."—*Bacon's Advancement of Learning*. Book 1.

evil, but until the *vacuum* in the popular mind is filled by the benefits of education, we may expect to see them have recourse to artificial stimulants. Mental training enlarges the views, and removes prejudices, which are of a dangerous character. It would teach the people that each class is dependent on the other ; that the rich and powerful have their cares and their duties, as the poor and humble ; that they labour for the good of the state by employing in its cause the energies of their minds, or by diffusing their wealth for the promotion of industry ; that a strong chain of connection exists between the employer and the employed ; that their interests are in a great measure mutual ; and that acts tending to the injury of the master, will therefore ultimately recoil on the workmen. The sin and folly of envy and malice could easily be made apparent to their minds, and hence they would become more contented with that station, in which it pleased the Almighty to place them, and they would learn that the distribution of good is not to be judged by worldly appearances ; that “ happy are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.” “ The last shall be first,” and he who performs his duty, though outwardly poor, and weak, and miserable, will hereafter be recompensed tenfold for his sufferings.

Thus not only prejudice against the wealthy, but also that, which is so often encouraged against

the authorities, whether national or local, would subside, not alone by the actual operation of instruction, but from mingled feelings of gratitude and esteem, towards the government which had displayed so much anxiety for their welfare by providing them and their children with the means of improvement. The lamentable ignorance that prevails with regard to machinery,* and many laws, which have been enacted for the benefit of the country, would give way before the light of knowledge. Let them know the fatal consequences of those rebellions and riots, which so often afflict the earth. Let them examine for themselves, and learn that no circumstances can justify a recourse to arms.

Spiritual and temporal interests are always combined, and their connection is ultimately acknowledged. But even considered in a mere worldly view, the people would easily be convinced that moral force has effected greater wonders than the sword, and has sufficed to remove every real grievance; that violence has ever afforded but a transitory relief, and arms taken up under the pretext of liberty, have been turned against their dearest rights, and formed the support of uncon-

* See an excellent little treatise on this subject, "The Results of Machinery," published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. It is there clearly shown that machinery has rendered productions cheaper, and has increased the demand for manual labour.

trolled despotism. Let them be impressed with the truth, that civil war, independently of its more apparent horrors, inflicts a wound in the very heart of the country, that it destroys tranquillity, which is the best guarantee for freedom, roots out confidence between the different classes, and destroys that dependence, which is essential to the well-being of society. Show them that civil war fosters the evil propensities of man, and exposes all things to the mercy of a ruthless mob; that it renders property, life, and liberty insecure; that it plunges individuals, families, and nations into ruin; that it draws down punishment here, and, above all, hereafter, on the heads of the offenders; that it shakes to the foundation all trade and commerce, checks agriculture, and prevents the investment of capital; that, in a word, it is fraught with all the elements which destroy a nation.

The working classes would be enabled to see clearly for themselves, and not to be led blindly by others. Examining into the origin of their grievances, and acquainted with the only justifiable remedy, they would shake off their credulity to every general assertion supported neither by argument nor by proof, and thus no longer afford an easy prey to the designing and the interested. Oh! how incalculable would be the advantage, if the people of a country would judge for themselves

and comprehend the snares that are laid for them ! Political agitation would lose that portion of its influence which is pernicious, and inflammatory writings, speeches, and assemblies, could not so easily excite man to exert his destructive powers. Does any one suppose, that except with the most ignorant, the Bible could have been desecrated by the impious corruption of its doctrines, to support the cause of bloodshed ? In the nineteenth century, we have seen the Word of God perverted to the basest of uses ; passages have been given in a garbled and incomplete form ; comments have been made totally false and unjust ; and religion herself has been brought forward as an advocate for civil war ! We hear of men endeavouring to excite assemblies of their countrymen to deeds of violence, and bringing forward the Scriptures as an argument in their favour. They generally have recourse to the Old Testament, without ever reminding their auditors of the change effected by the Christian dispensation, and without explaining the context in the Jewish history.* Passages are taken in a like manner from the gospel of Jesus, and especially

* It will hardly be believed that in many addresses to the mob, Nebuchadnezzar's dream, concerning the four successive great monarchies, and the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah, (Daniel ii.) has been made an incitement to violence. The image is made to represent the higher classes, and the stone breaking it in pieces, the lower orders rising against them.

his exhortation relative to the buying of swords, though the succeeding words, and the attendant circumstances are seldom, if ever, presented to the minds of the unfortunate and ignorant victims. Loud cheers and subsequent riots, tell too fatally of the effect produced by throwing the mantle of religion over the deformity of crime.

“Every year the institutions of this great country are necessarily becoming more and more popular in their character. No power on earth can now place a limit to the legitimate influence of the people, or undo that which has been done. But terrible indeed will be the result if a nation like this, thus clothed with a gigantic power, is to be abandoned to the influence of any demagogue, who at the bidding of faction may start up to delude and to destroy. Yet what else can be expected from an uninstructed people, possessed of rights before they have acquired the ability to exercise them wisely, than that they should be continually misled by popular declaimers, and aggravate passing calamities, by submitting their minds to the miserable sophistries of the artful and the unscrupulous.”*

We have an awful responsibility cast upon us. We dare not longer devote our fellow countrymen to blindness and to darkness. “Ignorance reigns to a terrible extent;” the people, little enlightened by spiritual or temporal instruction, are swayed by

* Thirty-second Report of the British and Foreign School Society.

every evil impulse. We do not try to save them, and yet, when as the natural consequence they have been guilty of crime, we seem to feel no compunction in executing punishment. Let us ask ourselves, are we justified in punishing a brother for crimes which we could but would not prevent? Educate the people. Teach them their duty to God and man.

A national religious education, we call upon the government of this country to afford to the people. It has now been for many years zealously required at their hands, and every hour lost plunges souls into sin, and calls down upon them the punishment inflicted by human and by divine laws. Such an education, the necessities of the times invite, and the religion, which we are said as a nation to adopt, imperatively demands.

And let not individuals for a moment suppose that they are incapable of preventing outbreaks in the country.

First, every one who has this cause at heart, should raise his voice and exert his influence in prevailing on the government to educate the people.

Secondly, let each within his sphere employ every means in his power of promoting this end. He can disseminate among his poorer neighbours his opinions on the subject; he can disabuse their minds of prejudice and un-

founded views; he can counteract in a great measure the arts of designing men.

SECTION 3.—*By improvement of the physical condition of the People.*

Efforts directed to the physical amelioration of the working classes should proceed hand in hand with those which seek their moral and intellectual developement, as these blessings act and re-act upon each other. The family that can command the necessaries of life, have generally some inclination and leisure for the improvement of their minds, while a proper education teaches them how to improve their condition and to add to their innocent gratifications.

But especially let us remark, that by the possession of certain comforts there is generated a proper self-esteem, which holds out every prospect of its possessor either retaining his present position or rising to one superior. Men, falling into the extreme of poverty, are apt to regard themselves as cut off from their fellow beings, and degraded in the sight of all. Disgusted with the present, and reckless of the future, which seems to them a mere blank, they refuse to obey the voice of reason or the dictates of prudence. The recent observations of a clever writer,* are

* "Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland."
By William Alison, M. D.

peculiarly applicable to the subject now under our consideration. "Twenty-five years," he says, "of observation of the habits of the poor, have shown me that there are none among whom population makes so rapid progress as those who see continually around them examples of utter destitution and misery. In such circumstances men hardly look forward to the future more than animals. It is easy for us to say that by cutting off from a poor family any prospect of relief in case of destitution, we can make them careful and prudent. The practical result is widely different. Another alternative is uniformly embraced. *They lower their habits.*

Now if you mark the conduct of the people, who have fallen thus low, or watch the future progress of children brought up in this state of misery and degradation, you look in vain for the principle of moral restraint, or for indications of prudential motives, counteracting the natural tendency of human passions. Many of the children die miserably in early youth, and those who survive are uniformly reckless and improvident.

On the other hand when men are preserved from this state of hopeless and abject destitution, they all (or with few trifling exceptions) gradually fall more or less under the dominion of *artificial wants*, and form to themselves a *standard of comfort*, from which they will never willingly descend, and

to maintain which they will keep themselves under a degree of restraint unknown to those of the poor, who are continually struggling to obtain the first necessities of life." The possession of the means of sustenance tends to produce contentment, and contentment preserves and leads to peace. The greater number of riots have for their immediate cause the desperation arising from extreme distress.*

Excessive indigence may spring from the vices of the sufferer himself, or from the conduct of others, as bad laws, &c., or it may arise from events which are above human control. The first source would be greatly diminished by moral education which would place a check upon the passions, particularly intemperance, that prolific parent of destitution and woe.

The second forms rather a branch of legislation, and as we are anxious that these pages should avoid any thing of a political character, we shall merely observe that the improvement of a people in a physical view is a matter of such deep importance, that it cannot be too sedulously promoted by the statesman or the philanthropist. The results of a law emanating from wise and Christian policy are felt in every lowly cottage, and

* See the first report of the Poor Law Commissioners, in the appendix to which is much valuable information on the riots of 1830 and 1831.

may gradually elevate the humblest individual from a state of suffering to one of comfort. We need hardly point out the benefits of removing such burdens, as the support of a standing army and the expenses of war, from the population of a country.

To those misfortunes, whose approach cannot be retarded by human caution, it becomes the sufferer to bow in humble resignation, but to others, in this, as in all cases of distress a more active duty belongs. It has been said by Dr. Johnson,

“ How small of all that human hearts endure,
That part, which laws or kings can cause or cure ! ”

And certain it is that private individuals, by well directed zeal in the cause of good, can frequently compensate for the faults of political enactments or for the apathy of a government.

The benevolence of an humble Christian can alleviate sorrow which laws can never reach. The fortunate, by displaying their sympathy with the poor, perform the first of Christian duties, and bind the affections of their fellow men to themselves by the strong ties of gratitude and respect.

SECTION 4.—*By appointment of a greater number of Conservators of the Peace, &c.*

Impressed with the importance of tranquillity

to the social state, the common law of England has evinced great care for its preservation. Among other salutary measures, it constituted many high functionaries, the chief conservators of the peace throughout the realm, and committed to inferior officers the task of maintaining it within particular districts. In the former class, the first and head was the sovereign, besides whom, and deriving their authority from him, were the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord marshal, the high constable of England, and all the judges of the Queen's Bench. To the second class belonged the judges of the Common Pleas, the barons of the Exchequer, the justices of assize, the steward of the sheriff's tourn, court leet, and other inferior tribunals, all of whom were conservators of the peace within the precincts of their respective courts; together with the sheriffs and coroners within their counties, and constables, (both high and petty,) borsholders, tithingmen, third boroughs, and others within their respective hundreds, towns, or districts. In addition to these there were formerly special conservators of the peace for each county, elected by the freeholders in the county court.* Most of the powers conferred by these offices, though virtually existing, yet are put into

* 1 Black. Com. 350. Dalton's Country Justice. The author of the latter work, which is one of great authority, defines peace as "the amity, confidence, and quiet that is between men . . . an unity of minds."

execution at the present day by justices of the peace, and by constables alone.* We would suggest that conservators of the peace should be appointed in greater numbers, and that they should consist of various grades, so that *every class* in the state should feel their influence. The very office of itself will remind men of the duties attached to it; and the wider its range, the more beneficial and more extended will be the interest created in favour of peace.†

CHAPTER III.

THE DUTY OF MAGISTRATES AND OTHER PEACE OFFICERS IN CASES OF INVASION AND REBELLION.

IT is scarcely possible to lay down any narrow and specific rule for a line of conduct that must chiefly

* The duty of a justice is said by Dalton to consist in three things—"First, in *preventing* the breach of the peace (*wisely foreseeing and repressing the beginnings thereof*) by taking surety for the keeping of it, or for the good behaviour of the offenders. Secondly, in *pacifying* such as are breaking of the peace. And thirdly, in punishing, (according to law,) such as have broken the peace. But of the three," he continues, "the first, the preventing a breach, is most worthy to be commended to the care of justices."—*Country Justice*, chap. iii.

† See Note L.

depend on the respective circumstances of each case; but to Christian magistrates and officers we would say, in all humility—first, “put up the sword;” and secondly, follow that course which *religion* and wisdom may dictate.

It is evident they should not trust in human strength, whether natural or artificial; they should not oppose violence by deadly weapons, nor seek to overcome it by the shedding of blood; they should not take away, in the midst of crime and rage, a brother's life.

“If, however, the civil magistrate may not destroy life, it should be remembered that the suppression of tumult never absolutely requires its sacrifice. The object, which is the preservation or restoration of peace and good order, is attainable without such a departure from the principles of legitimate authority; for in the generality of cases, an appeal to reason, listening to their grievances, and, where practicable, removing the cause of complaint, will more effectually avail than an appeal to force. Popular excesses are generally headed by some few desperate persons, on whom *alone* reason may fail to operate; excepting these, the most tumultuous assemblages are generally within the reach of rational address and inducement, and may be reduced to the practical acknowledgment of that sober reflection from which the designing persuasions of others,

more than any disposition to injure, has swerved them. It would require little more of force to repress any popular tumult, than the seizing of the ringleaders; for then the common band would be severed, and the body must necessarily fall to pieces. The stimulus to outrage would then be withdrawn, and the mass would quickly relapse into the better sentiments of their common humanity. This has been effected in many extreme cases; and combined results have proved, that even desperate rabbles have been reduced to reason, by appeals founded solely on its dictates. It has also been remarked, that when a police force has recourse to murderous weapons, the persons attacked are tempted to adopt a similar species of defence.”*

It is the duty of Christian magistrates to place reliance on the Almighty; by prayer to entreat, and by good actions to invite His assistance. It is their duty to exert every species of moral and intellectual power, and to direct it to the remedy of the evil before them. They must follow the precepts and example of Jesus, and allow this obligation to be of paramount importance. Hence they may not do evil that good may come of it; for, independently of our error in judging what is good, it is an act expressly forbidden in the gospel,

* “All War inconsistent with the Christian Religion,” &c.,
by W. Stokes.

and contrary to every dictate of our religion. They may not, therefore, commit a crime in order to stay a crime, nor may they violate the decrees of God to preserve the laws of man.

They may not return evil for evil, and therefore may not return the charge of their opponents, and slay the misguided multitude. They should argue and expostulate with their sinful brethren. They must “remonstrate with the invaders against all violence and injustice ; represent to them that the attack is wholly unprovoked,—that they have refrained from violent resistance, not from fear of them, but from a sense of their duty as Christians, and declare publicly, that if, under these circumstances, they injure the person or property of their people, they will be disgraced and dishonoured before all nations, in the eyes of their countrymen, and guilty in the sight of God.”*

Magistrates also must be ready to sacrifice their own interests, their property, and their lives, if necessary, to secure the welfare of their subjects ; they must fearlessly interpose, putting their trust in God, and in moral power, which is God’s agent on earth ; thus they must conquer, or suffer in obedience to the Divine will.

“Physical force, also,” observes an American writer, “may sometimes be used in perfect consistence with the law of love. It is only when

* “Objections to the Cause of Peace considered,” by a Layman.

physical force is used to gratify malice, or is carried so far as to take life away, and send a sinful soul to endless perdition, that I am opposed to it. If any one contends that this can be done with the law of love, I must confess I cannot agree with him. I cannot conceive, how sending souls to misery, either by the sword of the magistrate, or war offensive or defensive, is consistent with the precepts, 'love your enemies,' &c."

The conservators of the peace, of whom we have spoken, should be scattered through the country, so as, at all times, and all places, to be able to exert their influence and authority in quelling every disturbance.

Even by the common law of our country, each subject is armed with authority on occasions of popular violence. "Every private man," says Dalton,* "being present at an affray, ought to stay the affrayers, and to part them, and to put them asunder, but may not hurt them, if they resist him. . . . also every private man may stay the affrayers until their heat be over, and then may deliver them to the constable, to imprison them till they find surety for the peace."

Constables also, in such cases, "ought in the king's name to command the affrayers, or such as are about to make an affray, to avoid or surcease and to depart; and if a constable (being present

* "Country Justice," chap. viii.

at an affray) doth not use his best endeavours to part them, it being presented at the sessions of the peace, such constable shall be deeply fined for it."

Every justice of the peace, by the common law, "may do that which every private man or constable may do."

One thing is certain, that the present mode of dealing with riots, is by no means effectual or satisfactory. The course pursued only inflames the people against their rulers; innocent blood is frequently shed; and those who took no part in the outbreak, often fall by the murderous weapons around them. By the present system, all authority of repelling rioters is conferred on one or two individuals, who, perhaps, may be wholly incompetent for their office. We have had instances where the destruction of life and property has been in a great measure attributed to the inability or indecision of magistrates.*

But were moral influence to be the weapon, all Christians would feel it to be a duty to endeavour to extinguish the flame. Conscious that they were acting in conformity with the dictates of religion, they would act firmly, unitedly, and decisively. This species of resistance is required, as it would have a tendency to *check* an outbreak, and riots are known to be contagious, so that their

* See the proceedings at Bristol, during and subsequent to the lamentable riots of 1831.

progress may be traced with geographical precision.*

It is incumbent upon us to perform our duty without reference to consequences, but we may be allowed to offer a few examples in which our plan has already been made use of, and has been productive of extraordinary success.

We are told that when the people of Rome were much oppressed by their grievances, they quitted the city for the sacred mountain, (v. c. 255.) All Rome was filled with consternation. The senate was divided in opinion, some being for violent measures, others thinking that gentle remedies were preferable, and that a victory over such enemies would be worse than a defeat. At length it was resolved to make conciliatory offers, and Menenius Agrippa, one of the wisest and best of senators, addressed the multitude in the well-known fable of the mutual dependence between the body and the members. The effect was magical; they unanimously accepted the propositions, and returned peaceably to the city. And yet these men were not Christians! How many more powerful motives could now be brought to bear upon the hearts and minds of a people!

History informs us, that, during the wars of our barbarous ancestors, the appearance, in the midst of the contending armies, of the British bard, as the

* Appendix to first report of the Poor Law Commissioners.

messenger of peace, and having for his motto, "the truth against the world," effectually silenced all tumult, and terminated every hostile engagement. If one man, arrayed with a sacred character, could produce such effect on the minds of barbarians, we may easily believe that the efforts of many philanthropic and Christian men of the present day, would not be useless in appeasing an outbreak of generally rational and enlightened, though misguided, fellow creatures.

In the reign of Richard the Second, an example is presented of the facility with which a body of men is swayed by firm, judicious, and peaceful remonstrance.

Wat Tyler and his followers had much to complain of, and by the time they reached Blackheath, their forces amounted to one hundred thousand in number. They had committed many outrages, when the young monarch, who was not *above fifteen years of age*, himself went out among them, and desired to know their demands. They immediately made an humble application, and their requests were granted. In the meantime, another body of insurgents had broken into the Tower, and had been guilty of much violence. At the head of these was Wat Tyler, and he was invited to a conference with the king. In the midst of his demands he was treacherously, wickedly, and imprudently slain by the mayor, an act that

nearly cost the king and his attendants their lives. And yet, notwithstanding this open breach of faith, notwithstanding the fear and revenge of the multitude, they were disarmed and pacified by a few words from the youthful king—"What, my people," he cried, "will you then kill your king? Be not concerned for the loss of your leader; I myself will now be your general; follow me into the field, and you shall have whatever you desire." The awed thousands immediately desisted; they followed their sovereign, as if mechanically, into the fields, and there he granted them the same charter that he had before given to their companions. Thus, a rebellion in Rome, and one in England, at so great a distance of time intervening, undertaken by men actuated by different motives and desires, were completely appeased by moral force, where, in every probability, the application of violence would have destroyed the government, and have plunged the country into bloodshed and ruin. In neither of these cases was the higher duty of man to God set before the people; nor did there exist the strong inducements, which, at the present day, in a moral, intellectual, social, and political view, would act upon the human mind.

The French revolution, and all its attendant horrors, might have been prevented by pacific and persuasive measures. The dismissal of the minister, M. Necker, who always was of opinion that war is

inimical to the best interests of a country, was one great source of excitement and discontent in the people, while his presence would have materially altered the conduct of the government. "Necker," says Russell,* "lost all influence; he had proposed to the king *a conciliating plan*, which could not now indeed avail, *although it might have succeeded before the struggle had reached its present animosity.*"

What was the course pursued? "The advisers of Louis the Sixteenth determined to resort to the employment of bayonets. The troops arrived in great numbers. These immense military preparations, trains of artillery arriving from the frontiers, the presence of foreign regiments, whose obedience was unlimited, every thing announced some sinister project. *The people were agitated*; the assembly rushed to inform the throne, and demand from it the return of the troops."

This request was not granted, and accordingly we find the demagogues addressing the mobs in these words: "This evening all the Swiss and German battalions are coming out of the Champ-de-Mars to slaughter us! There remains for us only one resource, let us rush to arms!" Thus they inflamed their auditors by the presence of the military, and associated with a violent attack, a violent resistance. They furnished themselves with weapons, and were charged by the troops. "The prince of Lambesc pursued them

* "Modern Europe," part iii. letter 16.

into the garden, (the Tuilleries,) with a drawn sabre, at the head of his cavaliers; *he charged a multitude without arms, which was in fact merely a crowd promenading peacefully along.* In this assault an old man was wounded by a stroke of a sabre. They defended themselves with seats, and mounted upon the platforms; *the indignation became general,* and the call to arms resounded through every quarter." We can easily imagine the effect such scenes as these were calculated to produce upon the people. The French guards and the German troops then quarrelled and fought against each other. Thus the soldiers, in whom all confidence was placed, weakened the royal power, and extended the spirit of bloodshed.

The assembly at Versailles sent a deputation to the king, in order to represent *the necessity of sending away the troops,* and of confiding the protection of the city to the burgess militia. If they obtained their demands, they resolved on sending delegates to Paris with the consoling intelligence. Here was at least an opportunity of showing the people that the monarch depended not on soldiers, but on his people. An unsatisfactory answer was returned. The chief cry during the attack of the Bastille, and in other conflicts, was, "The soldiers have fired on their fellow citizens."

And was any concession attempted? Yes! *once,* and it had the most encouraging effect. The

king appeared in the midst of the assembly, declared that he was one of the nation, that he had given orders to the troops to retire from Paris and Versailles; and when he exclaimed, "It is to you that I confide myself," plaudits were heard from every quarter, and "Versailles and Paris rang with joy. *The sentiment of security succeeded the agitations of fear, and the people passed from animosity to gratitude.*"

The king was now reconciled to his people, and it only required judicious and tranquillizing measures to save the country from the threatening horrors. The immediate cause of this tranquillity being disturbed, was *the conduct of the soldiery, together with the imprudence of the monarch in encouraging them.*

The officers of different troops were entertained by the court; fêtes were given, and plays were represented. The soldiers were introduced to witness the spectacle, and to participate in sentiments which were loud in the praise of royalty, but were sedulously silent with regard to the nation at large. When the king appeared among them, acclamations rang through the building; "with naked swords in hand they drank the health of the royal family. Presently the jovial clamour and profusion of wine banished all reserve. They sounded the charge; staggering, they scaled the boxes, as if they were advancing to an assault; white cockades were distributed, and the tri-

coloured cockade was trodden under foot." "*The assembling of a military force,*" adds Russell, "*far from preventing the aggression of Paris, provoked it.*" This folly produced a fermentation throughout the whole country, dispelled all confidence in the king, and was, together with the introduction of foreign troops, one of the chief causes of that terrible revolution which led to the destruction of a monarchy, the creation of a despotism, and a most awful amount of bloodshed and crime.

We have gone into these events at some length, because there are so many marked undulations apparent; now peace, now strife; now peace again, and now strife again; and we find that a reliance on the soldiery chiefly produced the outbreaks, while expostulation and conciliatory measures led to tranquillity. In fact, let us peruse the account of any destructive tumult, and we shall generally find that *the first shot from the military has been the signal for the attack of the populace.*

But the marked intervention of Providence has seldom been more clearly displayed, than in favour of the Moravians during the Irish rebellion. This sect, like that of the Friends, abstains from all warfare, and implicitly obeys the peace inculcated by the gospel.

The infuriated rebels rushed onward, thirsting

for human blood, with every passion excited, and every desire raised to immolate their meek victims at the shrine of the demon, War. Prepared to overcome opposition, and to slay their resisting enemies in the heat of battle, they came with yells and imprecations. What was the resistance? Hymns of love and peace, proceeding from pure hearts, and ascending to the throne of their Father!

The elders were there, but their age was not disgraced by a desertion of that religious confidence which alone bears support and consolation to the close of life. No weapon was in their hands, but their mild demeanour proved that they had stronger means of defence. Women were there, but no shriek betokened terror; they knew, though weak themselves, that there was One above, who would not desert them. Little children mingled in the chorus, and, lifting up their hands, joined in prayer, even for their enemies. The hostile rebels, though wrought up to madness, and equal to the beasts of the field, could not resist an appeal like this. They could not strike where there was no hatred to oppose them; they dared not destroy this sacred group, protected as it was by the arm of the Almighty. And thus it might be with all men! The fact is, that man, depraved as he may be, cannot easily murder the unresisting and the

unoffending; and whether an individual or an assembly come to do a work of bloodshed, expecting to fight hand to hand, and to find food for their rage by a protracted resistance, if such be met by meek and humble forbearance, by a kind remonstrance, they cannot, in many cases, if ever, so conquer their nature, as to destroy those whom they meet as friends, though desiring to see them as foes.

After the preceding suggestions and examples, we trust that the proposition in favour of trusting in God, and in his agent, moral strength, will not appear so preposterous and absurd as, perhaps, it was at first regarded by the reader. We have seen, that, under the most unfavourable circumstances, moral force has been superior to physical. Let it be borne in mind, that we are not sufficiently sanguine to expect that these pacific measures will be adopted in cases of insurrections and invasions, until nations have laid aside all war. We may assume, therefore, that men's minds had become far more inclined towards peace than they were during the above-cited instances, and than they are at present; that governments, by their conduct, had induced a persuasion of the benefits and profit attending the continuance of peace; that they had encouraged a respect for the inviolability of life; that a Christian spirit, especially with regard to pacific principles, had been widely

diffused, and, perhaps, the blessings of education had been dispensed to the people ; that the passions had consequently been checked and restrained ;—and then, we would ask, supposing an outbreak or invasion were to take place, would there be any thing very utopian or visionary in the idea, that men so formed in mind by precept and example, as generally to feel a desire for peace, and a horror of bloodshed, but who, in a moment of excitement, had assembled to commit violence, might be called back to reflection and to reason by the voice of their fellow men, warning them of the consequences, exposing to them the folly, the injustice, and the impiety of their proceedings, and promising an inquiry into every grievance, with redress where it can be afforded consistently with the prosperity of the state ?

But whatever the success, there would, at all events, not be that depravation of morals and nourishment of the passions, so apparent in all warfare ; there would not be, in all probability, the loss of a single life ; souls would not be sent to perdition in the midst of blood and crime.

Admitting our plan to be feasible, the only objection urged against its adoption, is, that the people of a country could thus easily be deprived of their liberties.

Before discussing the intrinsic merits of this argument, there are two considerations that will

strip it of any formidable character. First, it exhibits the same lamentable want of confidence in a supreme Power, that stamps every objection to the full adoption of Christian measures. If Providence will preserve us in peace, He will also preserve us, so that life may be desirable. Secondly, the above assertion assumes, that liberty is secured by the present system of war and physical violence. This we deny.

War is the true engine of despotism. Vast powers must necessarily be lodged in the hands of one man for the government of armies, and, after being accustomed to so dangerous a dominion, he does not readily lay it aside. Soldiers, who have followed their general through scenes of blood and crime, and who have revered his will as a binding law, are frequently ready to promote any ambitious views that may arise within his breast. Coriolanus invaded the soil which had given him birth. Marius and Scylla, employed to promote the glory of their country, deluged it with blood, and destroyed its fairest hopes. By the force of arms, Cæsar awed the senate, and crushed every opponent; and the chief cause of the decline of Rome, was the licentiousness of her legions. By military power, Bonaparte erected his despotic and blood-stained throne on the ruins of a republic.*

* “ A protracted war prepares the people at large to submit to usurped authority, and does this in several ways. By surrounding

The character too often generated by warfare, is admirably described in the language addressed by Lælius, a centurion, to Cæsar, after he had passed the Rubicon.*

“Nec civis meus est, in quem tua classica, Cæsar,
Audiero. Per signa decem felicia castris,
Perque tuos juro quocumque ex-hoste triumphos;
Pertire si fratris gladium, juguloque parentis,
Condere me jubeas, plenæque in viscera partu
Conjugis, invitâ peraguam tamen omnia dextrâ.
Si spoliare Deos, ignemque immittere templis
Numina miscebit castrensis flamma monetæ.”

The substance of these words is this: Give thy command, and country, parent, wife, children, nay, religion itself, shall be offered as a sacrifice to thy will.

A standing army, also, in the time of peace, is dangerous to the rights of a people. From what has been said, it is evident, that it may be used for domestic as for foreign purposes; and that whether at the command of a general or a sovereign, it is a power equally formidable.

“In a land of liberty,” observes Blackstone,†

them with violent evils, it accustoms them to violent remedies, and the exercise of arbitrary power. Fatiguing them by prolonged conflict, it renders them content with whatsoever authority is able to reduce that conflict to calm; as the Romans, after an age of violence and blood, submitted gladly to the despotism of Octavius Cæsar.”—*American Prize Essay, by John A. Bolles*, p. 25.

* Lucan's *Pharsalia*, b. i. l. 373.

† “*Commentaries*,” vol. i. p. 408; and see p. 414. Channing,

“it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms. In absolute monarchies this is necessary for the safety of the prince, and arises from the main principle of their constitution, which is that of governing by fear; but in free states, the profession of a soldier, taken singly, and merely as a profession, is justly an object of jealousy.”

The mutiny of the *Nore* has shown us the vast navy of Britain employed against its own country, and threatening the very people that was burdened for its support. Thus, like the farmer in the fable, we nourish a viper in our bosom to sting and to destroy us.

Is the horrible practice of conscription, and of impressment, favourable to liberty? Tear the Briton from the home of his youth; drag him from the arms of those he loves, and place him on the battle-field, to do the work of death, or to be himself destroyed—then tell him he is a freeman! or console his weeping sire, his heart-broken

in a sermon on war, ably points out the same evils. “The influence of war,” he says, “on the political condition, is threatening. It arms government with a dangerous patronage, multiplies dependants and instruments of oppression, and generates a power, which, in the hands of the energetic and aspiring, endangers a free constitution. . . . In a community in which precedence is given to the military profession, freedom cannot long endure. The encroachments of power at home are expiated by foreign triumphs. The essential interests and rights of the state are sacrificed to a false and fatal glory.”

family, by the boast of their living in a free and enlightened country ! What mockery so cruel as that which gilds the chain of bondsmen, or disguises slavery in the fair mantle of freedom ?

It is idle to indulge in vague notions of liberty, and to vaunt of some indefinite good, neither felt nor seen, when the most important of personal rights are thus openly disregarded.

But our opponents seem to proceed on a complete fallacy ; for the truth is, that real and beneficial liberty can be enjoyed and guarded most effectually by moral resistance alone.

“The event of a battle,” observes a talented female writer,* “is always doubtful ; but the opposition of steady, persevering non-compliance, no victory can subdue. No man can be literally *compelled* to obey the commands of another. Would any ruler attempt to invade the liberties of a nation, when he was perfectly assured that all his efforts would be utterly unavailing in producing obedience to his decrees, and that, after baffling the last resources of tyranny, resolution would remain as immoveable as at the beginning of the contest. It would be like attempting with a knife to cut against the solid rock. *Physical* resistance is the clash of opposing lances in the

* “ Examination into the Principles which are considered to support the Practice of War,” by a Lady. Tract 8, of Peace Society.

tilt yard, where it is an even chance which shall first shiver the other to pieces. Hampden did more for the liberties of his country, when he stedfastly refused to submit to the illegal imposition of twenty shillings, than when he took up arms in defence of those liberties. And if all Englishmen had been Hampdens, there would have been no Charles to tyrannize—no Cromwell to usurp.”

If liberty consist in might overcoming right, in the humbling of weakness and the prostration of justice, in rapine, bloodshed, and insecurity ; if it be a licentious power of obeying every impulse ; if it have for its emblem the murderous sword and axe, then it may be allowed that violence alone can obtain or preserve so great an evil. But if civil liberty be no other than “natural liberty so far restrained by human laws, as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public ;” * if it consist in security of life, of property, and those rights, which, beneficial to man, are allowed by society, and sanctioned, nay, favoured and commanded by Christianity ; if it pro-

* Blackstone’s Commentaries, b. i. c. i. And “moral or natural liberty,” (in the words of Burlamaqui, c. iii. s. 15,) “is the right which nature gives to all mankind of disposing of their persons and property after the manner they judge most consonant to their happiness, on condition of their acting within the limits of the law of nature, and that they do not in any way abuse it to *the prejudice* of any other men.”

duce the happiness of man, and be conducive to human prosperity, then what is there in our religion, what is there in peace, at variance with the certain attainment and the fullest enjoyment of so manifest a blessing?

The laws, which are enacted to restrain natural liberty for the public good, can be either strengthened or repealed by *public opinion*. By such means, therefore, every right may be maintained, and no government will be found rash enough to oppose the moral will of a nation.

Religion, Peace, and Liberty, O happy union ! Liberty will never be so sweet, or so secure, as when it shall be the companion of peace, and the offspring of religion.

The principles of Christianity preserve the due medium necessary for a free state, by insisting on the claims and dignity of human nature, by forbidding every attempt to oppress and to enslave ; and yet, on the other hand, by never permitting rights to be raised upon crime, or freedom to degenerate into licentiousness. Slavery and Christianity are irreconcilable. Did not Christian countries exert their vast moral influence to abolish the dreadful system of slavery that once existed ? Do we not find Christian nations enjoying more true freedom than any of the pagan or Mahometan countries ? And it is a circumstance well worthy of remark, that we shall find many of the sincerest

Christians have been the truest friends to *liberty* and also to *peace*. In proof of our assertion, we need only cite the names of the venerable and truly christian Clarkson and Sturge, Gurney and Channing, who, influenced by the noblest zeal, have exerted every power for the destruction of slavery, and, at the same time, ever advocated the cause of permanent and universal peace. Well may the apostle style the religion of his Lord, "The perfect law of liberty."*

The distinction between pacific and slavish principles is as clearly marked as that between Christian and oppressive doctrines, and it has been eloquently described by Cicero: "*Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest; pax est tranquilla libertas; servitus malorum omnium postremum.*"†

The nation which serves God most zealously, will possess the greatest amount of freedom, both from His protection, and because the passions enslave more than any other power. Where are chains like those which are forged by sin? In

* James i. 25; and ii. 12.

† "The very name of peace is sweet, and peace itself is beneficial, but the most marked distinction prevails between peace and slavery: *peace is tranquil liberty; slavery the worst of all evils.*" To which he adds, "not only to be repelled by an appeal to arms, but by death." (Philippica ii.) Language we need not wonder at before the Christian era, but, alas! we have heard nothing else ever since.

the words of our Lord—"whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin," but then "the truth shall make you free," and "if the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."*

Christianity has already done more to disarm tyranny, than any human might could accomplish; and as its doctrines are extended in their purer form, true and rational freedom will also advance. Let us, then, adopt the pacific precepts of our faith to their fullest extent, and look unto Him who would regard us with love and mercy. Let Him be our strength and salvation: let us, without doubting and without fearing, put our whole trust in Him, who is our Father and our God, and "whose service is perfect freedom."

* John viii. 36.

END OF THE SECOND PART.

PART III.

THE BEST MEANS OF SETTling ALL DISPUTES BETWEEN
NATIONS, WITHOUT RECOURSE TO ARMS.

ANALYSIS OF THE THIRD PART.

CHAPTER I.

A CONGRESS AND A COURT OF NATIONS.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONGRESS. ORGANIZATION AND DUTIES.

CHAPTER III.

THE COURT.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

CHAPTER V.

THE POSSIBILITY OF EFFECTING OUR PLAN.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PREFERENCE DUE TO OUR PLAN.

CHAPTER VII.

PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS.

CHAPTER VIII.

APPEAL TO ALL CHRISTIANS.

“ War is a game, which, were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at.”

Couper.

“ A Congress of Nations, for the settlement of the principles of international law, and the organization of a Court of Nations, to determine all cases which may be brought before it, by the mutual consent of any two or more contending nations, has been the object of the Peace Society ever since its organization ; and much has been done in this country, and something in England and on the continent of Europe, towards the accomplishment of this great and benevolent design.”—*A Letter addressed by the American Peace Society, to her Majesty Queen Victoria.*

PEACE.

CHAPTER I.

A CONGRESS AND A COURT OF NATIONS.

THE same rules that are applicable to the guidance of individuals in their conduct, will most commonly be of value to a nation.* The truth of this assertion is readily acknowledged in a pernicious sense, when the duellist's plea of insulted honour is offered by a community as a ground for war. Much more justly may we declare, that it is equally desirable for states, as for men in their private capacity, to recognise a tribunal, whither

* "Nations are properly regarded as moral persons, upon whom devolve certain duties, and to whom belong certain rights."—*Chancellor Kent's Commentaries on American Law*. Vol. i. c. i. p. 3. Vattel's *Law of Nations*, p. 1. "In their intercourse with each other, and in their conduct towards their own citizens, they are subject to the same obligations which are binding upon man in his dealings with fellow man."—*American Prize Essay*, by John Bolles.

they may refer disputes, rather than to seek revenge by their own acts.

All-merciful Providence has not left us without a healing balm for the wounds of our bleeding country, and of the whole world.

The plan which we would propose, has for its object the elevation of reason above violence, the pacific arrangement of international differences in the place of war.

Three functions appear to be required for this grand purpose : legislative, to establish the laws for the regulation of intercourse among nations ; judicial, to apply those laws to particular cases as they occur ; and executive, to enforce obedience to those laws.

The character of these three branches has been thus succinctly described by one of our ablest writers.*

First, a congress of ambassadors from all those

* William Ladd, a sincere Christian, and a staunch friend to the pacific doctrines of his religion. The essay, "on a Congress of Nations," written by him, has been published separately, and also appended to the volume of American Prize Essays, published in 1840. It is undoubtedly the most *practical* treatise written on the important subject of a national tribunal ; and the plan which it develops is so superior to any other, that the author of the present work has adopted it in principle and in detail. Since the preceding part of this note was written, William Ladd has closed his earthly career. He has left a world of strife for realms of undying peace. In succeeding ages, just tribute will be paid to his name ; and when men can appreciate true Christianity, he will be revered as a benefactor to his race.

Christian and civilized nations, who should choose to send them, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law, by compact and agreement of the nature of a mutual treaty, and also of devising and promoting plans for the preservation of peace, and meliorating the condition of man.

Secondly, a court of nations, composed of the most able civilians in the world, to arbitrate or judge such cases as should be brought before it, by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations; thus dividing entirely the diplomatic from the judicial functions, which require such different, not to say, opposite characters, in the exercise of their functions. The congress is to be considered as the legislature, and the court as the judiciary in the government of nations, leaving the functions of the executive with public opinion, "the Queen of the World." We will now consider each of these parts more in detail.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

THE congress of nations would be composed of ambassadors sent from every state, anxious to enter into the covenant of peace. The appoint-

ment of them should be left to the chief depository of the powers and authority of the state, whether a monarch, or one or several persons known by any other appellation. The government, which now issues a licence to murder, would then be invested with the more pleasing office of selecting the ambassadors of peace. The wisest and most trust-worthy of men, it would be the evident interest of the ruling power to choose for this high and responsible duty. The candidates for the honour would naturally, from its importance and its estimation, number the Christian and the enlightened.

Every community on the face of the earth, desirous of becoming a party to the compact, should of course be admitted, whether the application be previous or subsequent to the formation of the congress.

Each state, however numerous its representatives, should possess but one vote. It will here probably be objected that the influence, both in the congress and the court, should be in proportion to the power of the states represented, and that a greater number of votes should be allowed to superior nations, than to those which are lower in degree.

Even if we admitted the validity of this assertion, it would not affect the substance of our plan. "The Achæan and Amphictyonic leagues, the

German confederacy, the Swiss Cantons, the republic of the Netherlands, the United States, and the successive international congresses of Europe, have all met this precise perplexity, and at different times, and in different ways, have solved it. We may be assured, therefore, that the solution will in no circumstances whatever be above the ingenuity of men who come to the task with a disposition to promote the general, rather than the partial good.”* The number of votes could easily be proportioned to the extent of population represented by each delegate; and if any such inequality were required, this, perhaps, would form the proper test, because the inviolability of human life forming the chief motive and object of the system which we propose, the greatest number of souls might be regarded as having chief interest in preserving the compact.

But we deny that the above objection contains any weight. The only reason for the inequality must lie in the supposed rank and influence which has been attached to different states, and which is a most uncertain and fluctuating standard. There do not exist so many petty nations as some may at first imagine; for the doctrine of “might overcoming right” has been long enough in vogue to merge their existence in that of the strong and more favoured. It certainly might be advisable

* American Prize Essay, by Thomas C. Upham, c. vi. s. 3.

to allow only one vote to the German states in union, one to the Greek, and one to the Italian states, and assuming such to be the case, there will be found not more than twenty nations in the whole of Europe, and of these not one contains less than two millions of inhabitants. It is difficult to conceive what inducement the ambassadors from inferior countries could have in weakening the power of superior nations. The truth is, that the interests of all governments are connected one with the other. This sentiment would rapidly pervade such a council as the congress, or the court; and men would learn that the people which most sincerely act up to the principles of morality, are the highest in the scale of power, of strength, and of prosperity. At the present day, we see the diplomatic agents made use of, meet with equal authority, whatever difference may prevail in the communities they represent, and their decision is never appealed from on this ground.

To every such argument, built on fears of partiality and injustice, an answer may be afforded by the nature of the tribunal itself, and of the strong moral check imposed on every member. *The eyes of the world would be upon them.* Each representative, selected for his wisdom and his probity, would be conscious of the scrutiny applied to his conduct, and aware of the responsibility of

his office, and the important consequences flowing from his decision. It is generally the best, and always the most pacific, policy to avoid exclusion as much as possible; and it would be a manifest advantage that every people should *equally* pledge themselves to the attainment of peace, and feel an *equal* interest in its preservation.

The delegates, when assembled, "would organize themselves into a congress by adopting such regulations and by-laws as might appear expedient to the majority. Those who would not agree with the majority, would of course have leave to withdraw from the convention, which would then constitute the congress of nations, choose its president, vice presidents, secretaries, clerks, and such other officers as they would see fit."

The duties of the body, thus formed, would be principally twofold: the improvement and establishment of the law of nations, and the organization of a court of nations.

Though minds of the highest order have devoted their powers to the development of that law, which, sanctioned by general custom, is supposed to regulate international relations and proceedings, yet it must be confessed that while some portions of the code are remarkable neither for their wisdom nor their morality, others are so contradictory, even in the most common and important cases, as to render them rather a snare than

a guide. One doctrine counteracts the other: one writer denies the assertion of another; and governments, in the moment of difficulty, incompetent or disinclined to untie the Gordian knot, seize the sword, and cutting it in twain, commit irremediable injury.

The following instances* will show the variance of opinion, and the obscurity in which national law is at present involved, and will also point out to us the improvements which might be effected by the congress.

1. The rights of belligerents over their enemies should be clearly defined, and the condition of prisoners be improved. Vattel holds that prisoners of war may be enslaved, and then be lawfully put to death.† Burlamaqui thinks we may kill them "in cases of necessity."‡ And though Christianity has done much to soften the rigour of authority, yet the right of retaliation, often assumed in war, is more cruel and sanguinary than the Jewish doctrine of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

During the recent civil war in Spain, Zumalacareguay defeated a division of Rodil's army at

* For some of these, and for many other examples, see the volume of American Prize Essays, and particularly the treatise of William Ladd.

† "Law of Nations," lib. iii. s. 152.

‡ "Principles of Natural and Political Law," part iii. cap. v. s. 8.

the battle of Los Compos de Larion. Among the prisoners taken by the Carlists, were several officers of high rank. The Carlist general despatched a courier to Rodil, and offered to exchange these for some of his own officers that had been previously captured. In the meantime, the prisoners shared the table of the victor, and were treated with the respect due to their station. In two days the courier returned, and found the general seated at mess with his prisoners. Rodil's letter was instantly opened, and contained the following laconic * reply: "The officers you require are shot." The fate of the unfortunate men is soon told: "Gentlemen," said Zumalacarreguy, throwing the letter to them, "I am sorry it is so, but there is no alternative. *Blood for blood!*" They were then dragged from the very table where they had been sitting together, and shot in the courtyard!†

When Bonaparte was carrying on the war in Egypt and Syria, he sent a messenger to Jaffa, demanding the surrender of the place. The messenger was beheaded by order of the governor. Among the prisoners subsequently taken at Jaffa,

* It seems to be the fashion of warriors to express the greatest number of horrors in the fewest words. Cæsar's "Veni, vidi, vici," and Napoleon's laconic despatches, well depict the *business-like* manner in which they undertook the work of slaughter and devastation.

† "The Calumet," vol. ii. no. 4. Essay, by Thomas Upham.

were found a part of a garrison, that, taken once before, had pledged themselves not to serve against the French. These offences could not be forgiven, and, on the principle of retaliation, Bonaparte ordered two thousand of his prisoners to be escorted to a neighbouring sand-hill, and to be there murdered in cold blood. "The execution lasted a considerable time, and the wounded were despatched with the bayonet. Their bodies were heaped together, and formed a pyramid, which is still visible, consisting now of human bones, as originally of bloody corpses."*

2. Which is entitled to our approbation,—the *practice* of making war without any solid cause, and without having tried any other means of arranging the dispute; or the *theory* that "nothing short of the violation of a perfect right justifies war, nor even this, until pacific measures have been in vain resorted to;"† "that war is the last remedy against injustice;"‡ and "if men were always rational, they would terminate contests by the arms of reason only?"§

3. Are all modes of destroying an enemy lawful? May fireships, mines, poison, be used? Bur-

* Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. c. xxix. On the same ground was justified the burning of the capitol at Washington by the British.

† Marten's *Law of Nations*, p. 273. Azuni, vol. ii. p. 178. American Prize Essay, by Hamilton, p. 157.

‡ Vattel, book iii. c. iv. s. 51.

§ *Ibid.* c. iii. s. 25.

lamaqui allows of assassination under certain circumstances, reasoning correctly, that "if we may employ a great number of men to kill an enemy, we may certainly employ a less number;"* and Puffendorf seems to admit the lawfulness of bribing one of the hostile nation to assassinate his own countrymen,† which is doubted by Grotius.

4. Has a nation, by declaring war, a right to confiscate private debts due from its own subjects to the enemy? Vattel answers in the affirmative, or at least, that payment may be detained during the war.‡ They were thus confiscated during the war of the American revolution, but the principle was given up by a subsequent promise of indemnity to the British merchants.

5. Is a nation entitled, on going to war, to detain the subjects of an enemy who are residing within its territories? If so, did Napoleon exceed the limits of this right, in his treatment towards British subjects?

6. Who shall be considered as combatants, and liable to be made prisoners of war?

7. What property of an enemy may be taken?

* Part iv. c. vi. s. 15.

† B. viii. c. vi. s. 18, "On the Right of War;" and in s. 6. Puffendorf observes, "Though it be common to all sorts of war that the particular nature, and, as I may call it, genius of them, is *violence* and *terror*, yet it is also lawful to make use of *stratagem* and *fraud* against any enemy."

‡ "Law of Nations," book iii. s. 77.

Now private property on shore is respected, and property afloat only is captured. A merchant vessel on the stocks is not liable to capture: on the water she is, except small vessels employed in the fisheries. Cicero observes, that it is not contrary to the law of nations to plunder a person whom we may lawfully kill.* But if we may plunder those only whom we may lawfully kill, then we should no longer plunder the peaceful merchant. May a conqueror seize private landed estates as the spoils of war? May churches and public property of a civil nature be plundered by an enemy? Burlamaqui allows it.

8. Is a compact made with an enemy at an end as soon as war is declared? Grotius is of opinion, that contracts made with an enemy are binding. Puffendorf doubts it.†

9. What is the nature of a truce, of a safe conduct, parole, ransom, and the giving up of hostages?

Among the rights of belligerents, which may affect neutrals also, are the following:

1. It is a matter of dispute as to the period of time required for the possession of a conquered territory, before it can be absolutely disposed of to another.

2. The rights attending expatriation are very obscure. Who are the subjects of a country, and

* De Off. lib. iii. c. vi.

† Ladd's Essay, c. iii. s. 9.

how their allegiance may be affected by naturalization and other means, are matters on which uniformity and clearness should prevail, but we find only variance and confusion.

3. Many governments are exerting their powers to abolish privateering among civilized and Christian nations. Should it longer continue?

4. In what manner may a belligerent nation treat the subjects of a neutral state, when they are found in an enemy's camp, fleet, or privateer?

The rights of neutrals are generally in an unsatisfactory condition, which not only creates but extends and prolongs disputes.

1. Shall a neutral flag cover all that sails under it, provided that the voyage be made from one neutral state to another?

2. Shall a neutral flag cover an enemy's property or person, when bound from a neutral to a belligerent country? Burlamaqui is of opinion, that they are lawful prize, if such property be on board with consent of the owners. As to all these questions he observes, "Prudence and just policy require *that sovereigns should come to some agreement among themselves*, in order to avoid the disputes which may arise from these different causes."*

3. What shall constitute a blockade, and what notice of it shall be given to neutral states?

* Part iv. c. iv. s. 24, Ladd's Essay.

4. A fruitful source of war is the uncertainty of the nature of contraband articles.*

5. Grotius thinks captured goods may not be sold until they have been brought within the country of the captor; Burlamaqui, that they may be sold as soon as captured.†

6. Grotius allows a belligerent to pass through the territory of a neutral without his consent; while Burlamaqui denies it; and Vattel allows it in certain cases, and denies it in others.‡

7. Another question of deep importance, is the right of foreign interference. Greece and Rome did not scruple to make themselves parties to the domestic and internal dissensions of other states; and though this unqualified doctrine has in modern times been condemned,§ yet no settled rule has been established in its stead. Great Britain severely blamed the United States because they had not prevented their citizens from taking part in the troubles of Canada; while she has openly allowed the enlistment of soldiers to take part in the revolutions of Spain and Portugal, and has even

* This assertion is confirmed by the recent report to the Congress in America, on M'Leod's case.

† Ladd's Essay, c. v. s. 10.

‡ *Ibid.* s. 14. Essay, by John Bolles, c. iii.

§ Vattel, b. ii. c. iv. ss. 49, 50. Huber de Jure Civil. l. iii. c. vii. s. 4. Rutherford, b. ii. c. 9. Grotius, lib. ii. c. xxiv. s. 8. Essay, by John Bolles, c. iii.

sent her armies to reduce the rebellious pasha of Egypt.

8. How far from shore shall neutral rights extend? Some say to the distance of a cannon shot; some, to the distance of a league.*

Many acts also of a civil character, affecting the pacific intercourse and the happiness of mankind, might easily be established by the congress on a clear and rational basis. Under this head may be arranged the rights of ambassadors; the free navigation of bays and rivers; the right of discovery and colonization; the slave trade and piracy; the surrender of felons and debtors;† the reduction of military and naval establishments, and the like.‡ Do not the foregoing instances, of themselves, and without a single comment, prove the necessity of some such power as the congress for which we contend? Discordant, conflicting, and abstruse as many of the above doctrines may appear, yet, by

* Ladd's Essay, s. 17.

† Puffendorf is of opinion that felons should not be delivered up unless there be a stipulation in a treaty to that effect; but Burlamaqui says they should be rendered up without such stipulation.

‡ So the erection of lights and buoys; the rules of salvage; international copyrights and patents; universal standard of weights and measures, (for the importance of this last-mentioned regulation, see American Prize Essay, by Thos. Upham, chap. iii.) the law of domicil, as it affects contracts, marriage, property real and personal, and other rights, (for this see Story's Conflict of Laws, an admirable treatise, and one forming a strong argument in favour of our plan.) The congress is to have nothing to do with the internal affairs of nations.

the concentrated wisdom of eminent civilians, they could be reduced into a perfect and harmonious system. No principle of national law would be established unless it had received the *unanimous* consent of every nation represented, and unless it had been ratified by the government of every such nation, so that each principle would resemble a treaty, which should not be annulled except with the consent of all the parties by whom it was made.* Certain and uniform rules for the guidance of mankind, would be deduced from the writings of recognized authorities, from the treaties which have been entered into among states, from custom, from history, and, above all, from the elements of immutable justice.

We should find it enrolled among the articles of this new code, that it is the first duty of each and every nation to preserve peace, to live in amity and union, not to inflict an injury, but to exercise all relations, social, commercial, political, and moral, to the promotion of the general welfare.†

* Wm. Ladd, c. ii. s. 3.

† The doctrines of our present national law are thus stated by Montesquieu :—" Le droit des gens est naturellement fondé sur ce principe, que les diverses nations doivent se faire dans la paix, le plus de bien, et dans la guerre le moins de mal, qu'il est possible, sans nuire à leurs véritables intérêts. L'objet de la guerre, c'est la victoire ; celui de la victoire la conquête ; celui de la conquête la conservation. De ce principe et du précédent doivent dériver toutes les loix qui forment le droit des gens." Whatever may be the intrinsic value of these principles, thus clearly stated, it is

The law of nations, thus recognizing, as its primary principle, the preservation of universal peace, thus founded on justice and on reason, will in truth be the law of nature, which is the law of God. It will be a lasting, uniform, and equal law, encircling within its embrace every people on the face of the earth. Then will be applicable the eloquent prophecy of Cicero : “ Nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis ; alia nunc, alia posthac ; sed et omnes gentes et omni tempore una lex et sempiterna et immortalis continebit.”*

CHAPTER III.

THE COURT OF NATIONS.

THE second important duty of the congress will be to prepare the way for the court of nations, by arranging all necessary preliminaries, such as the number of the members, which might be two for every state represented in the congress, the remuneration to be afforded to them, the tenure of their

certain they do not produce the desired effect on the conduct of states.

* “ There will not be one law in Rome, another in Athens ; one at this, another at a future period ; but one eternal and immortal law will embrace all nations to the end of time.”—*Frag. de Republ.*

offices, the time and place of meeting, &c. The members themselves should be appointed by the governments which had sent ambassadors to the congress. They could meet once a year for the transaction of business, and a power might be lodged in the congress to summon them together on any urgent occasion. The meeting should not be held in any country which had a case on trial. Every means calculated for the discovery of truth, should be placed at their disposal,* and they should be guided in their decision by existing treaties, and the laws established by the congress, and these failing, by the rules of justice and of equity. After a calm and attentive examination of the respective merits of the case, the question might be determined by a majority of voices. One of their number should then be appointed "to make out the verdict, giving a statement of facts from the testimony presented to the court, and the reasoning on those facts by which they come to a conclusion." In addition to the cases volun-

* "In cases of disputed boundary, the court should have the power to send surveyors appointed by themselves, but at the expense of the parties, to survey the boundaries, collect facts on the spot, and report to the court. Had there been such a court, the boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick would long ago have been equitably settled to the satisfaction of both parties. Some of the ex-governors of Maine have expressed to me that opinion. The supreme court of the United States very soon settled a similar difficulty between Massachusetts and Rhode Island."—*Ladd's Essay*, c. vii. s. 5.

tarily referred to them, the court should be authorized to offer their mediation on occasions of actual or threatened strife ; and should an appeal be made to them by a prince and a people in matter of *internal* discord, then and then alone they might return their opinion. Though the duties of this court would be essentially judicial, yet “ they should act as conservators of the peace of Christendom, and watch over the welfare of mankind, either of the nations of the confederacy, or the world at large. Often nations go to war on a point of honour, and, having begun to threaten, think they cannot recede without disgrace ; at the same time they would be glad to catch at such an excuse for moderation. And often when nations are nearly exhausted by a protracted war, they would be glad to make peace, but they fear to make the first advances, lest it should be imputed to weakness, and they would joyfully embrace a mediator. In cases where ambassadors would neither be sent nor accepted, the members of this court might go as heralds of peace.”* It would thus advise, but not enforce ; it would thus suggest, but never compel.

* Ladd's Essay, c. vii. s. 6. “ How much better,” he adds, “ it would have been for the honour and interest of France, if she had submitted her late disputes with Mexico, Buenos Ayres, and Queen Pomare, to such a court, rather than at so great an expense to force an unwilling concession, which will rankle in the hearts of those who have been forced to it, for a whole generation.”

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

It will most probably be objected, that the judgment of this supreme tribunal can be carried into effect only by force of arms.

Did we agree in this opinion, we should answer, Be it so. But in the name of humanity, and of policy, let us still have the congress and the court of nations. It would be truer mercy, it would be more substantial justice, that disputes should be thus amicably settled when it was possible; and when submission could not be obtained by pacific measures, that the world should rise in arms, and overcome the invader of their peace.

But we assert that arms would not be required for the enforcement of the court's decree. Man is never driven to the *necessity* of committing crime; and so, in the present case, this blessed end may be attained without the use of any means contrary to the doctrines of religion.

The instrument we would adopt, is public opinion, that unseen, mysterious agency, to which kings and warriors bow, and nations yield. The mind sways the world, whatever may be the appearance of sovereignty to a superficial observer. It is opinion that moves the machinery of states, and guides the millions in their

course. If we look back into the Middle Ages, and behold the effects of excommunication hurled against a monarch by papal authority; if we mark how rulers trembled beneath the ban placed upon them,—how they cowered beneath the supremacy of opinion, and then compare the judgment of the court of nations with a curse of the pope, we shall feel inclined to acknowledge, that greater success would attend the decision of the international court.

“In civilized countries, there is not, probably, one-tenth part of the people who obey the laws from fear of the sword of the magistrate. Nine persons out of ten fear disgrace more than they do any other punishment; and men often inflict capital punishment on themselves in order to escape from the frown of public opinion, which they fear more than death. It is true, that heretofore public opinion has not had so much influence on nations as on individuals; but as intercourse between nations increases, the power of public opinion will increase. Nations make war as individuals fight duels, from fear of disgrace, more than from any other cause. If it were disgraceful to go to war when there is a regular way of obtaining satisfaction without, wars would be as rare as duels in New England, where they are disgraceful.”*

* Ladd's Essay, c. x. s. 3; and Grotius has truly declared that

What physical power was adopted by our eminent jurists to render their codes of so binding an authority? Did Grotius, Vattel, Puffendorf, and others, enforce their opinions by threatening, and by arms; and if not, to what cause can we attribute their great success, but to the general approbation bestowed on the intrinsic truth and justice of their doctrines?

The executive, which we advocate, would be the Christian world! Opinion gains power by extension. It is impossible to stem a nation's will; who then would dare to brave the censure of a universe? Suppose the court to have been established, and the human race for a time to have enjoyed tranquillity. Suppose men had tasted of the attendant blessings, such as plenty, cultivation of the mind, improvement in the arts and sciences, economy in expenditure, increasing prosperity and happiness, and progress in morality. A dispute arises between two nations. By

no man, (and therefore in a great degree no body of men,) can feel secure or happy under a consciousness of violated duty, and of censure incurred as a deserved consequence. "*Neque tamen quamvis a vi destitutum jus omni caret effectu* :—nam justitia securitatem affert conscientiæ, injustitia tormenta ac laniatus, quales in tyrannorum pectoribus describit Plato. Justitiam probet, injustitiam damnat proborum consensus. Quod vero maximum est, hæc Deum inimicum, illa faventem habet, qui judicia sua ita post hanc vitam reservat, ut sæpe eorum vim etiam in hac vita repræsentet, quod multis exemplis historiæ docent."—*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, Proleg. s. 20.

mutual consent it is referred to the court. The government of one of the countries refuses to obey the decision.

What indignation would be created at this attempt to impede the advance of man to perfection, and to throw the torch of discord into the midst of a world at peace! Every community represented in the court would feel that it was insulted and mocked. Each people, adopting the cause as their own, would regard the *perjured* state with horror and disgust. Each government would refuse to hold any communication with it, or to continue that social and commercial intercourse which is so essential to the well-being of a country. Excluded from the pale of civilized nations, a brand would be placed on it, as on the brow of the first murderer, and it would exist but as an example of unparalleled wickedness. Then would be felt the sentiment of the poet :

“ Curs'd is the man, and void of law and right,
Unworthy property, unworthy light,
Unfit for public rule or private care,
That wretch, that monster, who delights in war ;
Whose lust is murder, and whose horrid joy
To tear his country, and his kind destroy.”*

The internal would be no less powerful than the external pressure. The people, conscious of injustice and of perjury in breaking the covenant ; sensible to the benefits arising from peace ; observant

* Iliad. Pope, b. ix. l. 87 to 92.

of the unchristian and dishonourable conduct of their rulers; foreseeing increased burdens of taxation and a national bankruptcy, from the destruction of their commercial power, they with one voice would demand the fulfilment of the treaty from their government, and would themselves resolve to perform their part of the compact.

Where is the ruling power that could resist this executive? Where is the government that, aware of the probable results, would dare to infringe the law of nations in so vital a branch?

The executive which we propose, promises to be certain in its results, and would be unattended by the loss of a man or of a guinea; while the present mode of endeavouring to exact obedience, is not only uncertain, but brings such injury even to the successful party, that it was the remark of a celebrated general, "Nothing is more sad than a victory, except a defeat." Like the duellist, who, in seeking *satisfaction*, either receives his adversary's bullet in his heart, or, slaying his opponent, forfeits his own life to the offended laws of his country; so a state demanding reparation by force of arms, inevitably places itself in a worse situation than it previously occupied.

CHAPTER V.

POSSIBILITY OF EFFECTING OUR PLAN.

LET any one attend a court of justice, and observe how complicated questions are unravelled and simplified, how difficult subjects are discussed, analysed, and decided, what fair conclusions are arrived at, true opinions formed, just verdicts delivered, and he will allow that the task of the national tribunal, composed of the wisest and most learned civilians, would not be more difficult nor less capable of a successful issue.

Though the primary source of war is in the passions, yet the circumstances which either inflame those passions, or are used as a cloak for them, and which form the *proximate* motive to war, are generally of so insignificant and trifling a character, as to admit of a far easier decision than can be given in most of the cases which are brought before municipal courts of justice. Future ages will scarcely credit, that in the nineteenth century war has been threatened, or actually commenced, concerning such petty matters, that sane men would scarcely have instituted even a law-suit for the greater part of them.* Will it be contended

* In the year 1005, some soldiers of the commonwealth of Modena, ran away with a bucket from a public well, belonging to the

that the extent of a boundary, the existence of laws prohibiting the importation of opium, and the fact of an insult having been intentionally offered, could not be at least as satisfactorily determined by reason as by war?

The court would enter with calmness and impartiality into the examination of the respective claims ; their passions would not be excited ; their judgments would not be blinded.

The sulphur question with Naples contained within it as good a pretext for war, as any of the above subjects ; but the two countries wisely accepted the mediation of the King of the French. Thus has that sovereign individually been acting in a capacity we would bestow on a body of counsellors.

Few international conflicts rest on a sounder basis than that described in the pungent satire of Swift, as the ground of war between the Lilliputians and the Blefuscudians. This war, in the words of the secretary for the private affairs of

state of Bologna. The bucket might be worth a shilling, but it produced a quarrel which was worked up into a long and bloody war.

A fierce war between England and Spain originated from cutting off the ears of an English smuggler.

“ So paltry a sum,” says Burke, “ as threepence in the eyes of a financier, so insignificant an article as tea in the eyes of a philosopher, have shaken the pillars of a commercial empire that circled the whole globe.”—*See American Prize Essay, by a Friend to Peace.*

Lilliput, “ began on the following occasion : it is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs before we eat them, was upon the larger end ; but his present majesty’s grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers ; whereupon the emperor his father, published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs. The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on this account, wherein one emperor lost his life, and another his crown. These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu ; and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. . . . Now the Big-endian exiles have found so much credit in the Emperor of Blefuscu’s court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war has been carried on between the two empires for six-and-thirty moons, with various success ; during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers ; and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours.”

The feasibility of our project cannot be ques-

tioned, from any complication or obscurity by which it might be surrounded; it is in itself exceedingly plain and simple, and it is more easily comprehended than are most of the treaties entered into between states. Though it has never been carried out to its full extent, yet the elements of which it is composed, have in practice met with success, and in theory with praise from wise and practical men.

Governments were eager to adopt the plan of Henry the Fourth of France on this subject, and William Penn ratified a treaty of peace with savage Indians. The design which we have sketched, is less complicated than that proposed by Henry, and the nations to which we appeal, are civilized and Christian. Let us also remember, that special congresses have been able to pacify belligerents, after war has raged, after injuries extensive and irreparable have been inflicted, and after the worst passions have been aroused and nurtured. With how much greater facility could every quarrel be amicably arranged, if it were referred to decision before the occurrence of these evils! With how much greater success could every angry feeling be allayed, every cause of hostility be crushed!

Let Britain then, or America, or any country in the world, give the example, and make overtures to other governments on this subject, and all ap-

parent difficulties will rapidly fade away. States that have groaned beneath war for ages, would crowd forward to accept the proffered boon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PREFERENCE DUE TO OUR PLAN.

IN a political, as in a moral and a social view, the plan which we have proposed is entitled to preference over war, and it also possesses advantages which render it superior to the measure of a special congress, or of arbitration.

One would think the proposition self-evident, that a calm examination, rather than violence, is adapted to the discovery of truth. What should we say of that man, who, professing a desire to investigate a disputed question, commenced operations by flying into a passion, and who thought, if he could succeed in knocking down by physical force every opponent, that he had arrived at the truth and justice of the case? And yet not more rational is the appeal to arms by a nation. There is no doubt but that the trial by battle and by ordeal, practised in what we call the more barbarous ages, was far superior to war, in whatever light we may view it. And we would solemnly

and without any intention to ridicule, suggest that our fellow beings had better return to that custom, unless they think the scheme which we have submitted, worthy of their adoption.*

As a practical illustration of the grounds for our preference, we may here offer the remarks of a very sensible writer, who, speaking of the boundary dispute between this country and the United States, points out how much more easily and satisfactorily it might be terminated by justice, than by arms. "The land," he observes, "about which the dispute is held, is of little comparative value to either party at present, and is not likely to be of much more importance than it is, in our generation. So that if we fight, it will be for the benefit of posterity ; a new reason for war. Very creditable doubtless to the inventive genius of the age in which we live, but which yet admits of the question, whether we might not as well leave it to our heirs to settle their own disputes? But then, as a basis of settlement, might not the question be offered to the final arbitration of some disinterested third party ; with this understanding, that as the general governments of the two nations are evidently disposed for an amicable arrangement, if, on the

* "What is war?" said Napoleon, when contemplating the sanguinary plains of Borodino. "What is war? *A trade of barbarians!* the whole art of which consists in being the strongest on a given point;" and Knox in his essays observes, "While we are warriors, with all our pretensions to civilization, we are savages."

conclusion of the matter by the arbitrator, either Maine or the colonies should think themselves aggrieved, the general governments should purchase the lands in dispute, each of its own party, accordingly as the difficulty might be stated respectively. Such a purchase would not cost either country so much as the equipment of a line-of-battle ship, and the boundary might be struck, and the matter might be ended without delay.”*

War is often undertaken merely to gratify caprice, or to feed ambition, or to advance individual interests, causes which, if tested by reason, could never involve communities in a dispute, and which, if submitted to the court of nations, would not be allowed to have the slightest weight. There is an account of a French minister, who having displeased his royal master in expressing a different opinion about the proportions of a window in a new palace, immediately resolved on attacking another state, in order to divert the king's attention from building, and to make himself useful.†

* “Peace or War? The question considered with especial reference to the differences existing between the United States and Great Britain.” By a Clergyman of the Church of England, 1839. This excellent treatise on an important question should be attentively read by friends and foes to pacific doctrines.

† “Louvois humilié rentra chez lui, la rage dans le cœur et exhalant sa fureur devant ses familiers. ‘Je suis perdu;’ s’écria-t-il, ‘pour quelques pouces de méprise dans un bâtiment, le roi oublie mes services; mais j’y mettrai bon ordre et je lui donnerai des

But say that war is commenced on apparently more substantial grounds, yet it does not answer the professed object. If undertaken for gain, it is attended by loss; if for precaution, it never guards; if for satisfaction, it never satisfies; and if for honour, it is followed by disgrace.* The unhappy thirst for conquest is generally as disastrous to the victor as to the vanquished; for the former adding to his empire more than he can govern or enjoy, the power which would have been beneficial and advantageous if concentrated and preserved within due limits, becomes weakened, useless, nay worse than useless, when spread over a greater extent than it can embrace. Let the history of our country tell what we have suffered through endeavouring to obtain and preserve territories on the continent. Let the annals of France show the miserable results attending the cruel policy and insane ambition of Napoleon. Her exhausted resources, her murdered children, speak in eloquent terms to our hearts and our reason.

“Happy is that nation,” remarks Washington

occupations que lui feront oublier la truelle ! *il n’y a que la guerre pour le tirer de ses batimens et il en aura puisqu’il en faut à lui ou à moi.* ”—*Hist. de France par un des Carrières*, tom. ii. p. 214.

* When we compare for a moment pacific and warlike measures, we can fully appreciate the saying of Cicero : “*Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antiferò* ;” or in the words of Franklin : “There never was a bad peace, nor a good war.”

Irving, "which, compact, united, loyal in all its parts, and concentrated in its strength, seeks no idle acquisition of unprofitable and ungovernable territory; which, content to be prosperous and happy, has no ambition to be great. It is like a man well organized in all his system, sound in health, and full of vigour; unencumbered by useless trappings, and fixed in an unshaken attitude. But the nation insatiable of territory, whose domains are scattered, feebly united, and weakly organized, is like a senseless miser, sprawling among golden stores, open to every attack, and unable to defend the riches he vainly endeavours to overshadow."*

The pacification, which, in 1763, terminated so many dreadful conflicts, placed the affairs of Germany *in precisely the same situation* as at the commencement of hostilities; and both parties (Prussia and Austria), after an immense waste of blood and treasure, derived from it no other benefit than that of experiencing each other's strength, and a dread of renewing the calamities of so destructive a contest. The English wrested Florida and Minorca from Spain, and restored them again by the treaty of 1783. The differences between France and England, in the East and West Indies, and in Africa, were compromised by mutual concessions, and the national debt had been augmented from £75,071,264, to £146,582,844. It

* Knickerbocker's History of New York, b. vii. c. ii.

was, however, confidently asserted, that by the additional security which the acquisition of Canada had afforded to her colonies in North America, Great Britain would ultimately acquire ample indemnification for all her losses, in the increasing trade and prosperity of the colonies, and in the gradual diminution of her debt; which would result from her being saved, more effectually than by any other method, from the necessity of another war.

But mark the short-sighted calculations of such politicians! It was in order to lessen the weight of the debt incurred in pursuit of these very objects, that Great Britain made that attempt upon the liberties of her American subjects, which, after reviving the horrors of war on both sides of the globe, and costing the lives of a hundred thousand British soldiers, terminated in the entire loss of those colonies, and in the addition of nearly a hundred millions to the burdens of the nation. On the part of France, which had been drawn into the American war, nothing was acquired by the treaty of 1783: the Dutch lost some commercial privileges; and the Spaniards simply regained what they had been deprived of in the preceding war.*

* "Examination of the Principles considered to support War," by a Lady. Tract 8, of Peace Society. See also the dispute between Spain and Britain on cutting *logwood* at Campeachy. "The court of Madrid agreed to pay £95,000, but not doing so, hostilities commenced. By the Logwood War, the nation lost more than 100,000 of her sons, and expended no less than £46,000,000 ster-

Frequently war is undertaken as a measure of precaution, which, of all reasons, is the most fallacious. Attack a country because it is becoming prosperous ! Envy of the basest kind can only be the motive. It would be as just and as reasonable for men of little stature to determine upon destroying those of larger size, lest their superior might should be dangerous. “ In the light of precaution,” observes Gibbon, “ all conquest must be ineffectual, unless it could be universal ; for, if successful, it only involves the belligerent power in additional difficulty, and a wider sphere of hostility.” The truth of this assertion is fully proved by experience. Thus the Romans conquered the neighbouring states of Italy and Gaul, only to be brought into collision with the fierce nations of Germany and Parthia ; thus Alexander over-ran Media and Persia, only to see his armies rolled back before the Scythian forces, or the innumerable legions of India ; thus the empire of Napoleon, victorious over the states of Germany and Italy, recoiled at length before the aroused indignation of the northern powers.

The balance of power, as it is called, has been a prolific source of folly and iniquity, and has formed a specious plea for every kind of absurd, extravagant, and cruel conduct. Passion, interest, gold,

ling. The valuable trade with Spain was ruined.”—*Bigland's Hist. of England.*

and arms, have ever outweighed every other consideration. Henceforth the balance of nations should be regulated by the scales of justice alone.

William the Third desired to humble the French king; and, after *a war of eight years*, that had raged in Flanders, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Ireland, and the West Indies, at length, by the treaty of Ryswick, England obtained as a compensation for her almost ruined commerce, and the burden of the national debt entailed on posterity, for one hundred thousand of her sons, and upwards of twenty millions of treasure, *the recognition of the title of William the Third!*

Queen Anne proposed to herself the same design of depressing the Bourbon family; and, after all the sanguinary battles fought for this object, *during eleven years*, the following conditions were obtained by the peace of Utrecht. The grand aim of the confederacy, which had been to effect a permanent separation between the French and Spanish crowns, was secured only by an *unguaranteed* promise on the part of the Bourbon family, that the two kingdoms should never be united; a renunciation to which they readily consented; having declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of France; and one which, in the words of a protest entered in the House of Lords, was so fallacious, that no reasonable man, much less whole nations, could ever look upon it

as any security.* The commercial treaty procured for England was so exceedingly unfavourable to the interests of trade, that the bill for rendering it effectual was rejected by the commons, in consequence of the numerous petitions against it from merchants in all parts of the country.

No alteration was produced in Louis's conduct towards the Pretender, by his enforced recognition of the Queen's title. The Dutch were hurried into a treaty, in many respects less advantageous than one by which their pensionary Heinsius had declared they would lose the fruit of all the blood and treasure hitherto expended. And with regard to Austria, Marshal Villars justly observed, that, "after a war of fourteen years, during which the Emperor and the King of France had nearly quitted their respective capitals, Spain had seen two rival kings in Madrid, and almost all the petty states of Italy had changed their sovereigns; a war which had desolated the greater part of Europe, *was concluded on the very terms which might have been procured at the commencement of hostilities.*"†

The grants of parliament in the course of thirteen years, had exceeded eighty millions; and at the death of Queen Anne, the debt amounted to £50,644,306, requiring £2,811,903 to be annu-

* Tindal.

† Coxe.

ally raised in taxes on the labour and property of the people, towards paying the interest of it.*

Charles the Second of England declared war against Holland for taking two English ships, and would not accept compensation, though they offered it. After three years' war, a peace was concluded.†

Whatever the event of war, the waste of blood and treasure is frightful; and the saving which would be effected by our plan, must be considered as a great advantage.

In a mere political view, we should remember that the people form the sinews of a nation's prosperity; that the labour of man gives to all things their value, and that the wealth of a country is to be tested by her industrious population, rather than by magazines, or stores, or ships, or armies. One may form some idea of the vast amount of human life sacrificed at the shrine of the demon, War, if he will read the history of a single campaign of Alexander, or of Napoleon, and then bear in mind how many like miserable events have cursed the earth.‡ Burke,

* Rees' Cyclopædia. See "Principles of War," by a Lady.

† The American war of 1812, "ended in a treaty which settled nothing, and made no allusion to the causes of the war."—*Encyclopedia Americana*.

‡ There were twenty-four wars between France and England alone, from A.D. 1110 to 1803,—260 of those 700 years, were spent by those nations in butchering one another! From 1161 to 1471, (310 years,) 186 were war-time. From 1368, they were

in his "Vindication of Natural Society," estimates, from historical statistics and facts, that 36,000,000 of human beings have been slaughtered in war, and says they may justly be taken at one thousand times the number. "I think the numbers of men now upon earth," he continues, "are computed at 500,000,000 at the most. Here the slaughter of mankind, on what you will call a small calculation, amounts to *upwards of seventy times the number of souls this day on the globe!*" and then, with unfeigned indignation, he exclaims, "Ye legislators, ye civilizers of mankind, your regulations have done more mischief in cold blood, than all the rage of the fiercest animals in their greatest terrors or furies has ever done or ever could do." This work was published before "the mighty murderer," Napoleon, appeared; and we are much below the mark, if we assert, that he, from the rupture of the peace of Amiens in 1804, to his eventful fall, caused the slaughter of 2,500,000 of *Frenchmen*. To these we must add the thousands and tens of thousands of Germans, Swiss, Poles, Italians, Neapolitans, and Illyrians, whom he forced under his eagles, and at a moderate computation, these must have amounted to 500,000. It is obviously just to assume, that the number which fell on the side of his adversaries,

at war 101 in 103 years! It is computed that 1300 wars have been carried on by France, since the origin of the French monarchy. See American Prize Essays.

was equal to that of the forces against which they were brought. Thus we may assert that the latter years of Napoleon's glory were purchased at no less an expense than 6,000,000 of human lives.

This horrible inroad on the fairest portion of the population of Europe, resulted in the abandonment of every conquered territory, the bringing of foreign enemies twice within twenty-four months under the walls of Paris, and the erasure of Napoleon's name from the records of dominion.*

Let us also remember that the unfortunate creatures who have thus been mingled in an indiscriminate and horrible carnage, were not those alone, who, inflamed by their worst passions, thirsted for blood and for power, but the poor ignorant beings, who, dazzled by the falsehoods of glory, and the veil thrown around the miseries of war, have been blindly led away, and only discovered their fatal error, when too late. Nay, worse than this, many thousands who have thus miserably perished, have been torn from their

* For these numbers, see Napoleon's official journal, the *Moniteur*. We learn from Labaume's and Porter's *Narrative of the Campaign in Russia*, that in the battle of Borodino, 80,000 men fell in one day! The horses which lay on the ground from right to left, numbered full 25,000. Of 400,000 warriors who passed the Niemen on opening the campaign, scarcely 20,000 repassed it. The Russian army, which, in the commencement of the pursuit, had amounted to 125,000 effective men, mustered only 18,000 when the campaign was closed. On a moderate computation, 500,000 lives were lost in 173 days.

homes, their families, and their countries, the victims of proscription and impressment, to swell the martial array, and to add to the number of murdered men on the field of battle. How horrible must be that system which depends for its support on the worst passions of man, or on his ignorance, or on the violation of his dearest rights !

Is life too long ? Is the world too happy ? Alas ! Man has but few years to dwell on earth, and they are darkened by care and sorrow.

Let us look at the expense which would be saved by the adoption of our plan. Great misconception prevails regarding the effect of war on commerce. Because a feverish excitement is then abroad, superficial observers are apt to think that vitality and strength are infused into trade. Let them be undeceived, and know that tranquillity and security form the very life of commerce, and the active principle of trade ; that war burdens a country, drains its resources, and checks and impedes its traffic.

Monsieur Necker, one well experienced in all concerning commercial and political benefits, has left strong testimony in our favour. "Have you balanced," he asks those who believe war improves commerce, "the advantages you expect from war, against the injuries which commerce will sustain from the augmented rate of

interest, occasioned by the multiplication of government loans and the dearness of labour, which is a necessary consequence of the increase of taxes? Are you certain, that while you endeavour to obtain a new branch of commerce by the sword, you may not lose another, either through that deference which you will be obliged to pay to your ancient allies, or those concessions which your new allies may require? In a word, are you sufficiently acquainted with the whole extent of your present prosperity; and have you formed an estimate of all the sacrifices which the very end of your ambition may deserve? Nothing is more simple than the word commerce in its vulgar estimation; nothing more complicated when it is applied to the universality of exchanges, to the importance of some, the inutility of others, the disadvantage of many; to political views in short; to labour, taxes, and all the unexpected combinations which war and great events produce. Deliberate and deep reflection then is necessary, before we determine to kindle the flames of a war for a commercial advantage. And it ought never to be forgotten, that in time of peace a diminution of certain duties, a bounty on some exportations, a privilege obtained from some foreign nations, and many other advantages resulting from a wise administration, are often of far greater value than

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the object which is proposed to be gained by fleets and armies.”*

Speaking of France in particular, he observes, “The quantity of specie in the kingdom is immense; but the want of public confidence very often occasions the greater part of it to be hoarded up. The population of the kingdom is immense but the excess and nature of the taxes impoverish and dishearten the inhabitants of the country. In a state of misery, the human species is weakened, and the number of children who die before their strength can be matured, is no longer in a natural proportion.

“The revenue of the sovereign is immense, but the public debt consumes two-fifths of it; and nothing can diminish this burden but the fruits of a prudent economy, and the lowering of the rate of interest.

“The contributions of the nation, in particular, are immense; but it is only by the strengthening of public credit, that government can succeed in finding sufficient resources in extraordinary emergencies.

“Finally, the balance of commerce in favour of the kingdom is an immense source of riches, but war interrupts the current. Hence results an

* “On the Administration of the Finances of France,” c. xxxiv. and xxxv., “on the Calamities of War,” &c. These chapters really translated, and published as Tract 11, of the Peace Society.

important reflection; namely: that *the nation which derives the most considerable advantages from peace, makes also the greatest sacrifices whenever it renounces that state of quiet and prosperity.*"

These remarks are applicable to every country in their substance, and show us the opinion of one, who, with the best opportunities of information, had deeply studied the subject.

Yes! though war may throw capital into new channels for a time, yet great sums of money are kept back by its means, and many hands are altogether deprived of an opportunity for employment. Every poor man has to pay for war in the price of his bread, and in the increased value placed upon all the necessaries of existence. The middle classes of society suffer in a similar way. The articles which are produced for warfare, "want," says a writer already cited, "the germinating power which peaceful manufactures possess, one remarkable characteristic of which is, that they multiply the demands for industry, as they supply those demands.

"No sooner has war been declared, than the merchant shipping of each power finds itself placed in new and embarrassing circumstances. Much of it is compelled to remain altogether in port; the portion that endeavours to maintain a traffic, is obliged to endure the delays and the expense, as it needs the protection of a warlike convoy. A

few of the better-built and swifter merchant-ships relinquish their useful and honourable occupations to join in the strife ; and, under letters of marque, take up the character which their commanders and crews have previously most dreaded and abhorred, namely, that of pirates.

“Nor does agriculture languish less than trade. In the last French war, the English markets were greatly raised, but in the long run the consequences are always fatal. Witness the distresses of the farmers and landed proprietors on the return of peace, when the unnatural prices suddenly failed. And this is taking the most favourable view ; but let a country be the field of war, and this must be the case somewhere, and then let the results to agriculture be regarded. Instead of waving harvests and prosperous husbandmen, what are the features that strike the eye after a year or two of campaigning ? The young men have been taken from the plough and the wain, to drive the artillery horse, and to form the ranks ; the villages are devastated, the fields neglected ; famine succeeds to plenty, and pestilence to health !

“ ‘Why do you think, sire, of attempting a descent on England ? you cannot hold it ;’ was the question put by a general to Napoleon— ‘True,’ was his reply, ‘I do not think of attempting to retain it ; but if I can spread my troops upon it for a week, I can so despoil it, as

that no Englishman shall be able to live in it for a hundred years to come.' ”*

What grand and extensive benefits might be bestowed upon a country, by the judicious application of that treasure which is recklessly wasted in support of war! “The ruinous expensiveness of war,” says Archbishop Whately, “which will never be adequately estimated till the spread of civilization shall have gained general admission, for just views of political economy, would alone, if fairly computed, be almost sufficient to banish war from the earth.”

The maintenance of naval and military establishments for the purpose of offensive and defensive warfare, is said to consume seven-eighths of the income of nations.†

We have in truth felt the consequences, by the national debt imposed upon the country,—a debt contracted by our predecessors,—one that sprang from the vile extravagance of war; and that, at the present day, fetters industry, and taxes undeservedly all labour.‡

It may give some idea of the expenses attendant upon war, to state, that Britain is said to have spent £1500,000,000 sterling in her wars! The *difference* to Great Britain of her naval and

* See “Peace or War,” by a Clergyman.

† Ladd’s Essay, c. vi.

‡ See Note M, where the expenses of war are set forth at length.

military expenses between 1815, a year of war, and 1818, one of peace, was £45,362,677 !

The British expenditure during the struggle of the ninety days, which terminated in the battle of Waterloo, is considered to have averaged £1,000,000 a day ! And during the late war in Portugal, our expenditure was £1,000,000 per week.*

What would not such sums have accomplished in promoting the welfare of our race ?

Of course the effect of such extraordinary demands is an awful increase in taxation. Coleridge, in his verses called the "Devil's Walk," thus describes the feelings of that personage during one portion of his progress :

" As he stood upon Westminster Bridge, he saw
A pig down the river float ;
The pig swam well, but at every stroke,
It was cutting its own throat.

" He looked on the sight with gloating eyes
Of joy and exultation,
For it put him in mind of his daughter, War,
And her darling child, Taxation !"

The preference due to a pacific tribunal may not only be gathered from the causes and nature of war, but has been acknowledged by the recourse had at last to a congress after serious losses. By this conduct rulers have tacitly admitted that an

* See "Peace or War;" and the Report of the Committee of Inquiry of Massachusetts Peace Society ; Rees's Cyclopædia, &c.

appeal to arms must ultimately yield to counsel and deliberation. How insane do nations appear, refusing to erect a court of appeal, flying to arms, lavishing money, spilling blood, committing crime, and then coming back, after all, to the only effectual means !

The nature of such contests is well shown in the forcible remarks of the Ettrick Shepherd. "The history of every war," he says, "is very like a scene I once saw in Nithsdale. Two boys from different schools met one fine day upon the ice. They eyed each other with rather jealous and indignant looks, and with defiance on each brow.

What are ye glowrin' at, Billy ?" "What's that to you ? I'll look where I have a mind, and hinder me if ye daur." A hearty blow was the return to this, and then such a battle began ! It being Saturday, all the boys of both schools were upon the ice, and the fight instantly became general and desperate.

"I tried to pacify them, and asked one party why they were pelting the others ? what had they done to them ? 'O naething at a', mon ; we just want to gie them a good thrashin'."

"After fighting till they were quite exhausted, one of the principal heroes stepped forth between them, covered with blood, and his clothes torn to tatters, and addressed the belligerent parties thus : 'Weel, I'll tell you what we'll do wi' ye. If ye'll let us alane, we'll let you alane.'"

“There was no more of it: the war was at an end, and the boys scattered away to their play. I thought at the time, and have often thought since, that that trivial affray was the best epitome of war in general, that I had ever seen. Kings and ministers of state are just a set of grown-up children, exactly like the children I speak of; with only this material difference, that instead of fighting out the needless quarrels they have raised, they sit in safety and look on, hound out their innocent, but servile subjects to battle, and then, after a waste of blood and treasure, are glad to make the boy's conditions: ‘If ye'll let us alane, we'll let you alane.’”

This is the general course of war; and we assert that it would be a manifest advantage for nations *to let each other alone at first*; in other words, that they should have recourse to justice in *the first instance*, in the place of only appealing to it when they are exhausted or satiated.

Add to these considerations, that our plan has met with the approbation of many wise and good men; and that it has been adopted *in its principle* with frequent success, and where it has failed, there have been incidents which we propose to exclude.

1. It has appeared in miniature among the ancient Greeks in the council of the Amphytyons. This was an assembly composed of delegates from the different states of Greece, and was

established, according to most writers, in the year 1497, B.C., by King Amphictyon, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, as a point of union for the several communities. Rollin says, "His principal view was, to unite in the sacred bond of amity the several states of Greece admitted into it, and oblige them by that union, to undertake the defence of each other, and be mutually vigilant for the happiness and tranquillity of their country. . . . They had full power to discuss all differences which might arise between the Amphictyonic cities."

Originally twelve, and afterwards thirty-one Grecian provinces sent two deputies each, who assembled twice a year, and oftener if required, at Delphi or Thermopylæ, with great solemnity. They decided both political and religious matters, composed public dissensions by force or persuasion, punished civil or criminal offences, and particularly transgressions of the law of nations. After the decision was published, a fine was inflicted on the guilty state, which, if not paid in due time, was doubled. If the state did not then submit, the whole confederacy took up arms to reduce it to obedience. The refractory power might also be excluded from the confederation.*

The advantages of this council are sufficiently shown by the period of its existence, which lasted

* Gillies' History of Greece, vol. i. p. 107.

for fifteen centuries ; by the favour with which it was regarded ; its adoption by so many states ; the great respect generally paid to its decrees ; and the high degree of civilization attained by the people over whom it had influence.*

The chief disadvantage attending it, was the allowance of war to enforce its sentence, an act which prevented that close intimacy, friendship, and union, so essential to the welfare and safety of states situated like those of Greece, and which, encouraging them to weaken their forces against each other, gradually effected their decline and ruin.

2. Next in order of time was the Achæan league, an alliance originally defensive, formed among several cities in Achaia, in southern Greece. "Strangers to the desire of conquest, and having little connection with corrupt nations, they never employed falsehood even against their enemies. Although each city was independent of the others, yet they formed one body, and one state. So great was their character for justice and probity, that the Greek cities of Italy referred their disputes to their arbitration."† At length,

* Rees, in his *Cyclopædia*, observes, "Their determinations were received with the greatest veneration, and were ever held sacred and inviolable. Had its members been actuated by a spirit of peace, of justice, and of good order, it would have rendered it for ever respectable."

† Rees ; and according to Polybius . "The Achæans so far

however, they transgressed the defensive limit and became subject to the Lacedemonians.

3. The Lycian confederacy consisted of twenty-three cities ; and Rees says, " that the inhabitants, were commended by the ancients for their sobriety and manner of administering justice."

4. The league of the Hanse Towns sprang up about A.D. 1239. The confederation first commenced by a league between the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, and afterwards consisted of about eighty-five cities, embracing the wealth of Europe. They first formed a system of *international laws*, enacted in their general assemblies. While they remained at peace, they flourished exceedingly ; but at length, engaging in war, they drew down upon them jealousy and suspicion, and were gradually reduced.

5. The defensive alliance of the states of Switzerland, commonly called the Helvetic Union, was founded in 1308. An essential object of this confederation is, to " preserve general peace and good order ; for which purpose it was covenanted that all public dissensions shall be finally settled between the contending parties in an amicable manner ; and with this view particular judges and arbitrators are appointed, who shall be em-

gained the esteem and confidence of all the Europeans, that their name became common to all that country." See Essays by Ladd and John A. Bolles.

powered to compose the dissensions which may happen to arise.”* Their diet is composed of ambassadors, who act upon the laws which have been enacted by their respective governments. For more than five hundred years this confederacy has existed; and though depressed by the French revolution, it still exists as a guide and as a model, in many of its features, for the adoption of Christendom.

6. Henry the Fourth of France, who truly merited the title of “Great,” if it were only from this act, in concert with Elizabeth of England, projected a plan for preserving the peace of Europe. The proposal met with general favour, and its execution was prevented only by the knife of the assassin Ravallac. The outline of this great design has fortunately been preserved in the thirtieth book of Sully’s memoirs. That able statesman claims attention to the subject from “all being convinced by long experience, that the happiness of mankind can never arise from war.” He himself acknowledges that there existed many prejudices in his own breast, and that he for a long time refused to entertain the project, until he was persuaded, almost against his will, by the force of truth alone. After a severe examination, “I found myself,” he says, “confirmed in

* Rees’ Cyclopædia. Ladd’s Essay, c. viii. s. 6. See also from s. 9. to s. 23, a detailed account of the congress of Panama.

the opinion, that the design of Henry the Great was upon the whole *just in its intention, possible and even practicable in all its parts, and infinitely glorious in all its effects.*" "Among the different dismemberings which Henry's plan would have occasioned," he continues, "we may observe that France received nothing for itself but the glory of distributing them with equity. Henry had declared this to be his intention long before. He even sometimes said, with equal good sense and moderation, that were these dispositions firmly established, he would have voluntarily consented to have the extent of France determined *by a majority of suffrages.*" "The purport of this great design was to divide Europe equally among a certain number of powers, in such a manner that none of them might have cause of envy or fear from the possessions or power of the others. The laws and ordinances proper to cement an union between all these princes, and to maintain that harmony which should be once established among them, the reciprocal oaths and engagements in regard both to religion and policy, the mutual assurance in respect to the freedom of commerce, and the measures to be taken to make all these partitions with equity, and to the general consent and satisfaction of the parties, all these matters are to be understood, nor is it necessary to say anything

of the precautions taken by Henry in regard to them. The most that could have happened, would have been some trifling difficulties, which would easily have been obviated in the general council representing all the states of Europe, the establishment of which, was certainly the happiest invention that could have been conceived to prevent those innovations which time often introduces into the wisest and most useful institutions.

“The model of this general council had been formed on that of the ancient Amphictyons of Greece, with such alterations only as rendered it suitable to our customs, climate, and policy. It consisted of a certain number of commissaries, ministers, or plenipotentiaries, from all the governments of the Christian republic, who were to be constantly assembled as a senate, to deliberate on any affairs which might occur ; to discuss the different interests, pacify the quarrels, clear up and determine all the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, whether within itself, or with its neighbours. The form and manner of proceeding in the senate, would have been particularly determined by the suffrages of the senate itself.” In corroboration of the favour with which the plan was received, he declares that Elizabeth highly approved of it, that her successor, James, cautiously promised to advocate the design, when Henry had

made it public. "The King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, the United States, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, the Duke of Savoy," declared themselves in favour of it. "So," he continues, "all the reformed religion in Hungary, Bohemia, and Lower Austria, many Protestant princes and towns in Germany, and all the Swiss cantons of this religion. And when the succession of Cleves, which the emperor showed himself disposed to usurp, became another incentive to the confederacy, there was then scarcely any part of Germany that was not for us."

Does not the very fact of this proposition having been made, afford a strong argument in our favour? A monarch, a wise and an experienced monarch, who had taken part in many destructive wars, at length, influenced by the horrors and the accidents attending them, seeing their utter inefficiency either as a means of precaution or of reparation, invented a plan for permanent peace. This circumstance of itself speaks volumes. It shows that not only does the Christian advocate peace from conscientious dictates; not only does the minister, (as the Duke of Sully and M. Necker,) advocate peace from political motives, but even that the victorious monarch is driven to the same conclusion by sad experience. Cincinnatus turned from war to the plough: Charles the Fifth deserted the din of battle for the silence of

the cloister : far nobler the conduct of Henry, who relinquished arms, and endeavoured to establish universal and lasting peace !

There does not seem to be any necessity for the dismemberment of states, as they could be easily governed on the pacific principle, with their present extent and population. The very attempt to create equality in power, would probably cause numerous dissensions, and therefore would not be a fitting commencement for a system of peace. The division, if attempted by argument alone, would be impolitic; if by force of arms, it would be unjust. Let the doctrines of peace once gain sufficient influence, and there will be no occasion for fear or envy. This defect has given a complicated appearance to Henry's design, and has introduced needless difficulties; while the great aim should be to induce the speedy adoption of a salutary plan, by simplifying every incident, and removing every obstacle.

This disadvantage, however, may be taken away with as little injury to the substance of the scheme, as we inflict on the oak when we remove the ivy from around its trunk.

The essence of the project was the formation of a court for the appeal of nations, which Sully entitles, "the happiest invention." We have seen how eagerly almost every contemporary government embraced the proposal; and scarcely

a succeeding writer has alluded to it, without bestowing upon its principle unequivocal praise.*

Abbé de St. Pierre, in his "Discours sur le Grand Homme," speaks rapturously of this plan, and observes, "This prince has always had the honour of being considered as the author of the most important invention and most useful discovery for the benefit of mankind, that has yet appeared in the world, the execution of which may, perhaps, be reserved by Providence for the greatest and most capable of his successors." In 1693, William Penn published "an Essay on the Present and Future Peace of Europe," and referring to this design, remarks, "His example (Henry's) tells us that *this is fit to be done*; Sir William Temple's History of the United Provinces shows by a surpassing instance *that it may be done*; and Europe, by her incomparable miseries, that *it ought to be done*."

The scheme of Henry was also brought before the public notice with commendation, by the phi-

* In the Royal Library is an ancient MS. discourse, the author of which seems not in the least to have doubted the success of Henry's plan; and M. de Perifac, who, in the third part of his history of this monarch, has given a short, but very accurate account of the scheme, says positively that it would have succeeded, and confirms his assertion by strong arguments and proofs. The continuator of Thuanus, (1609,) does not appear to be of a different sentiment. The Maréchal de Bassompierre, in the first volume of his journal, seems to regard it with approbation, as does also the author of the life of the Duke D'Epemon.

lanthropic Count Sellon, founder and president of the Geneva Peace Society, and a staunch advocate for the inviolability of human life. Its sound policy was impliedly admitted by the declaration of the allied sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle, and by the English and Americans in the settlement of the boundaries between the United States and the colonies.

May we not assume from these facts, that a plan formed on a similar basis, but more simple in its detail, more capable of execution, would meet with the attention and approbation of all civilized states, and at length be established for the welfare of man ?

7. The next open advocate for a *system of peace*, is the enlightened and benevolent William Penn, whose success in legislation and in government, is of itself sufficient to recommend any of his political doctrines. "He was of opinion, that as governments held their parliaments, sessions, and assizes at home, to overrule men's passions and resentments, in order that they who had been injured by these, might obtain justice at home, so princes might, by a mutual concurrence, establish assemblies or diets abroad, to overrule the same bad affections, with the view of obtaining justice in their disputes with one another. He suggested, therefore, the idea of a great diet on the continent for this purpose ; that is, that the princes of

Europe would, for the same reason which first occasioned men to enter into society: viz., love of peace and order, establish one sovereign assembly, before which all differences between them should be brought, which could not be terminated by embassies; and the judgment of which should be so binding, that if any one government, offering its case for decision, did not abide by it, the rest should compel it. Such a diet might have one session in the year, or one in two or three years, or as often as occasion might require.”*

Thus we have the decision of this truly Christian ruler directly in favour of a national court; and in practice he adopted one important step towards its attainment, by entering into a covenant of lasting peace with the savage Indians.†

8. When the mighty and devastating ambition of Napoleon was checked, and the allied sovereigns had assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, the Society in England for the Promotion of Permanent and

* Clarkson's *Life of William Penn*.

† Charles Cartel Irene de St. Pierre, who died in 1743, and who was the uncle of the author of “*The Studies of Nature*,” was the author of the next published dissertation on a Congress of Nations. Rousseau admired the plan, and published a review upon it, with remarks of his own. The scheme resembled that of the Amphictyonic Council. See Ladd's *Essay*, c. ix. s. 2; and see also s. 3; and American Prize Essay, by a Friend to Peace, p. 448. It will also be found well worthy of attention to consider that the United States of America, each independant of the other, yet submit their common interests to the decision of the general congress.

Universal Peace, drew up and presented an address, which contains such forcible sentiments on this subject, that part of it is well worthy of being transcribed. It ran thus :

“ To their imperial and royal Majesties, and their Representatives, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

“ Illustrious Sovereigns,

“ Your Majesties are again assembled to deliberate for the interests of mankind, and for the repose and welfare of the world. May the wisdom that is from above preside in your councils, and the charities of the gospel open your hearts to every variety of human suffering, and inspire them with benevolent plans of alleviation. Eighteen centuries have elapsed since the religion of Jesus was first announced with tidings of great joy to the whole earth. The first ages of Christianity alone saw the scattered communities of the church united in the bonds of love and harmony.

“ When peace was within its borders, no violence of man could prevent their enlargement. But from that time it has been torn with dissensions, desolated with intestine slaughter, and dishonoured in the eyes of pagans and idolaters.

* * * * *

“ You have entered into a solemn covenant to make the precepts of Christianity the rules of

private administration in your respective dominions, and of political intercourse and relation with each other and with foreign states.

“Wise and admirable policy ! developed by the influence of gospel light, after a long and tempestuous season of darkness and desolation !

“Your Majesties have felt the evils of war, and have deplored its calamities. You have seen its temporary successes to be without profit and without honour. You have therefore wisely determined to oppose a barrier to its future encroachments and devastations. And how is this barrier to be formed ?

“Will your Majesties condescend to take an example from the administration of justice in small communities. As the maxims of jurisprudence decide between man and man, so may not the laws of a sound and Christian policy determine between contending kingdoms, before the high general tribunal of arbiters, whom your Majesties may select for that dignified and especial office.

“And as the estates of a kingdom are assembled from time to time to hear complaints, and to redress wrongs, so your Majesties, by assembling in person, or by distinguished representatives, will stand as umpires, to whom will be referred all disputes in the great Christian commonwealth ; and thus a perpetual congress will be established, to arbitrate between contending states, and to promote the happiness of the world.”

This eloquent composition probably imparted a tone to the Declaration, shortly after signed by the ministers of the allied sovereigns. The following is the chief article to which all the high confederate powers affixed their names.

“ That they (the sovereigns) are firmly resolved never to depart, neither in their mutual relations, nor in those which connect them with other states, from the principles of intimate union which has hitherto presided over all their common relations and interests ; a union rendered more strong and indissoluble by the *bonds of Christian fraternity, which the sovereigns have formed among themselves.*”

And afterwards they resolve in the Declaration never to recede from the “ principles of this right of nations,—principles which in their application to a state of *permanent peace*, can alone effectually guarantee the independence of each government, and the stability of their general association.” By these words, they acknowledge that Christian fraternity can alone preserve union and security. Happy would it be, were these sentiments thus declared in writing, engraved on the heart of every monarch, and interwoven with the counsels of every government ! Alas ! while we write, the monarchs of those very nations which combined for common welfare and safety, are inflamed and irritated against each other, breathing war and hatred ! Could any circumstance speak more for-

cibly on behalf of a tribunal for their disputes, than that mighty sovereigns should first allow peace to be essential to temporal and spiritual interests, and yet within a few years be carried away by popular frenzy, or by their own passions, and entertain the resolution of again deluging the world with human blood ?

During the present year, (June, 1840,) the American Peace Society, which has been indefatigable in its exertions, sent to every crowned head in Europe a volume of essays* in favour of a congress of nations. The following letter was, at the same time, presented to her most gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria.

“ May it please your Majesty :

* * * * *

“ Incipient steps, leading to the great result proposed, (a congress and court of nations,) have already been taken by the principal powers of Christendom. Mediation and arbitration have had a very happy effect in settling the disputes of contending nations, and thereby preventing the horrors and calamities of war. Various congresses have convened to settle the affairs of nations, after war has tried in vain to settle them ; how much more conducive to the happiness of mankind it

* Some copies of these essays are still to be obtained at the office of the Peace Society. They will be found well worthy of a most attentive study.

would have been, if these congresses had met before these wars, and prevented them! Now, *our object is, to reduce to rule and permanency, that which before was only occasional and transient, and to have always at hand a body of able jurists, selected from the most enlightened nations in Christendom, for the sole purpose of judging and amicably settling those cases which, from time to time, might be brought before them by the mutual consent of the parties concerned.* To determine the duties of this court, and to lay down and enact some simple rules and laws for its government, and to effect a covenant between enlightened nations, by which they shall agree to submit to the court of nations such disputes as have heretofore been submitted to occasional congresses, and individual umpires, is the object of the proposed congress of nations.

* * * *

“The peculiar position of Great Britain and the United States, which threatens a war between two of the most enlightened nations in the world, for an inconsiderable portion of wilderness, calls aloud for the examination of a plan calculated to remedy for ever such a state of things.

“The American Peace Society solemnly appeals to your Majesty in favour of bleeding humanity, and the cause of virtue and religion; and if your Majesty’s illustrious ancestor, Queen Elizabeth, could readily give her assent to the complicated

scheme of Henry the Fourth of France, we are encouraged to implore your Majesty's attention to a plan, to which the only objection is, its extreme simplicity.

“By order of the American Peace Society,

“WILLIAM LADD, President.”

The Peace Society in England, has also turned its chief attention to the formation of an international tribunal, and has made some strenuous efforts for its accomplishment.

Arbitration has often been used with great success. A submission of the matters in dispute is made to the judgment of two or more representatives, and if they do not agree, selection is in general made of an umpire, to whose sole decision the whole controversy is referred.

A limited and temporary congress is defined as “a simple means of determining, in a diplomatic way, the conflicting claims of belligerent powers, whose interests interfere with each other, and thus of preparing or concluding peace, and of preventing a rupture, and of mediating between the different interests of different nations.”*

* There is a preliminary congress, in which all preliminaries are agreed upon, such as the consent and representation of the different powers, the place and time of meeting, &c., and a principal congress, which is to decide upon the matter referred. The latter opens by the exchange and perusal of credentials among the plenipotentiaries, which, in case the negotiating parties have referred to the arbitration of a mediator, are given to him. The envoys then

By an assembly of this nature, many great and difficult questions have been satisfactorily arranged; and so frequent has been the adoption of the measure, in consequence of its beneficial results, that a history of the different congresses would form a history of European politics.*

The system which we advocate, possesses evident advantages to arbitration, or to a special congress, for—

First. The law of nations would be ameliorated, explained, and rendered certain.

Secondly. The court, forming a *permanent* tribunal, would always be prepared to guard the interests of the world, and would *invite* an appeal to its authority.

Thirdly. Formed of representatives from *many* countries, the influence of peace would be more extended; each government would thus acknowledge the jurisdiction, and would pledge the

carry on their negotiations directly with each other, or by the intervention of a mediator. They thus continue to act until they have agreed upon a treaty, &c., or one of the powers dissolves the congress by recalling its minister.

* Among the principal congresses will be found, those of Münster and Osnabruck, A.D. 1644; of the Pyrenees, 1659; of Breda, 1667; Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668; Nimeguen, 1678; Frankfort, 1681; Ryswick, 1697; Utrecht, 1712; Cambray, 1722; Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748; Hubertsburg, 1763; Teschen, 1779; Versailles, 1784; the Hague, 1790; Rastadt, 1797; Amiens, 1802; Erfurt, 1808; Ghent, 1814; Paris, 1815; Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818,

honour of their country to obey the award. Hence also they would feel individually and collectively insulted by disobedience.

Fourthly. The wisdom of different communities would act in union for the good of mankind. We cannot blind ourselves to the manifest advantages proffered by the establishment of a congress and a court of nations. How insignificant by its side will appear those endless treaties, built up by stratagem and fraud, pulled down by violence and treachery, made but to be broken! This covenant would be as a rainbow across the political horizon, telling man that the storm of ages had passed away, and that peace, happy peace, was restored!

Religion appeals to the conscience; mercy and humanity dictate to the heart; policy and prudence confirm the mind in abhorrence of war, and in favour of a system that may banish its horrors from the world for ever.

CHAPTER VII.

PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS.

OUR hopes of triumph are indeed cheering.

We struggle in a good and glorious cause. Christian pastors are beginning to see the necessity and the duty of advocating peace in union with religion: members of the legislature offer their valuable services in promoting our hopes.*

This country has happily enjoyed peace for some years, and men have been better enabled to see its blessings. Kings, let us hope are daily learning, that power should be exerted to the welfare of mankind. In 1831, his Majesty Frederick William III., the late king of Prussia, returned an encouraging answer to the Count de Sella, who had addressed to his majesty a letter in favour of peace. The royal reply was in these words:—

“SIR,—All your writings and all your undertakings are inspired by the love of mankind, and bear the impress of true religion. This character, which has for so long a time distinguished you, claims all my esteem. The undertaking of

* Especially Messrs. Rundle, Hindley and Baines, members of parliament, who have kindly presided at the Annual Meeting of the Peace Society.

which you inform us, should obtain the approbation and encouragement of all who feel an interest in the happiness of man. It is doubtless difficult to triumph over the errors and passions which are opposed to the noble design at which you aim; but it is delightful to reach after it, and to labour for it without intermission. *Peace is more than ever the duty of governments, as well as the interest of the people. Both have need of it, for it is the first condition of the happiness of every state.* To maintain and to preserve it, without compromising the dignity and safety of the monarchy with which Providence has entrusted me, has been, and always shall be, the object of all my wishes and endeavours; and my thoughts always accord with, in this respect, those which a holy policy, in harmony with Christianity, makes you desire to realize.

“Receive the assurance of my consideration,

“FREDERICK WILLIAM.”

So the principle, for which this excellent Christian, Count de Sellon, ever contended—that of the inviolability of human life, was favourably entertained and encouraged by almost all on whom he endeavoured to impress its importance.*

More perfect civilization has lately been ad-

* The supreme Swiss Diet, the Emperor of Austria, the Duke of Orleans, (now king of France,) kings of Holland and Bavaria, and others.

vancing with rapid strides. Commerce has increased the means of communication between distant countries, and has more firmly knit together the interests of races differing in colour, in language, and in customs. "The commerce between different nations," observes Archbishop Whately, "which is both an effect and a cause of national wealth, tends to lessen their disposition to war, by making them mutually dependent. Many wars indeed have been occasioned by commercial jealousy; but it will be found that in almost every instance this has arisen on one side, if not on both, from unsound views of political economy, which have occasioned the general interests of the community, to a very great amount, to be sacrificed for a much smaller advantage, to a few individuals."

Knowledge, and we trust, religion, which is the life of all knowledge, have made considerable progress. Men are beginning to awake from their perilous slumber, and to raise their voices against war. Friends are daily advocating our cause. Works and opinions issue from the press in favour of peace.

The various links which have been destined to form the chain of universal brotherhood, are being continually added; for charity, tolerance, and freedom, are extending their influence. All these are signs that tell us of the decline of that

system which is a relic of barbarous and superstitious ages, and which it is time to drive from the face of the earth for ever.

But, perhaps, there is not a more pleasing indication of the spirit alive in the present times, than the many societies for the establishment of peace, which are springing up throughout the world.

In 1813, the Rev. David Bogue, in his "Discourses on the Millennium," and when referring to the different services each might render to the sacred cause of peace, remarked—"To collect the force of all these into one centre, from which the rays of light and heat may be emitted in every direction with more powerful energy, is a thing of high importance. This effect an association will produce; and as we live in an age of societies to combine individual efforts for public benefit, why should not one be formed for promoting peace among the nations of the earth? If such a society were formed, and were to exert itself with becoming activity, in ten years' time the pacific principle would be so widely diffused through every rank in the community, that it would be no easy matter (the expression is too cold)—it would be inconceivably difficult, nay almost impossible, to prevail on the people of Great Britain to engage in war.

"The subject, every one will allow, merits all the attention that can be given it. We want a man,

wise, good, benevolent and zealous, to lay the foundation-stone of this temple of peace, and aid in demolishing the capitol of war, that its stones may be taken to build the walls of this sacred edifice."

In 1816, such a society was formed by several true Christians. A simultaneous excitement led to the formation of four societies, with the same object in view, in two different quarters of the globe, each at the time ignorant not only of the existence of similar bodies, but even of the intention to establish them.

The object of the society in England is well expressed in an able publication, which it conducts and sends forth quarterly, entitled—"The Herald of Peace." It is "to print and circulate tracts, and to diffuse information tending to show that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind; and to point out the means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace, upon the basis of Christian principles. Its labours are not limited by local attachments, nor circumscribed by geographical boundaries; but extend to the whole human race." And well has it struggled to fulfil its pleasing, though arduous duty. Many auxiliary societies have been formed by its means throughout the country. True Christianity, with regard to this subject, has been disseminated by the publication

and distribution of some of the most excellent tracts and pamphlets ever written upon any theme. These it has circulated, to awake the sleeping mind. It has petitioned parliament when war has threatened; it has supported lecturers and delegates. The number of tracts and addresses published in the first year of its existence, amounted to 46,000; but from the report for July, 1841, we learn, that during the year 1840, no less than 365,000 copies of tracts and small books have been sent forth from the press, comprising, since the formation of the society, a total of 1,573,650. They have been given or sold; they have been distributed among the youths at colleges, among the missionaries in distant lands, and emigrants. Copies have also been placed in many public libraries, and in steam-vessels for the use of passengers. Several devoted persons, who have left this country on missions of benevolence, have also been supplied with them. The friends to peace in America also are pursuing indefatigably their noble career. The great object to which their peace associations devote their attention, is a congress of nations. Their published essays on this subject they have presented to the sovereigns of Europe. In the new world, there are also three hundred ministers of the gospel, who are in the habit of preaching an annual sermon to their congregation on the principles of the society.

On the continent of Europe, pacific doctrines have made some progress.

In Switzerland and Geneva, the venerable Count de Sellon has established societies for the attainment of peace. One of a similar kind is springing up in Paris.

CHAPTER VIII.

APPEAL TO ALL CHRISTIANS.

THE way to prepare the minds of the human race, and to make them anxious to adopt a congress, is by following out the object of the Peace Society : *the establishment of pacific doctrines on a Christian basis*. Christianity should form the basis, but peace should be the summit. There must be increased efforts ; for it is plain that the present mode of preaching and practising our religion will never of itself destroy war. It has been tried for eighteen hundred years, and, except for the first three centuries, war has raged with intense fury. We must *concentrate* the powers of our religion on this, which is its favourite and darling principle. We must attack the customs and prejudices of mankind ; and while religion is ever to form the chief motive and object of our labours, yet we must

uproot the evil by every proper means in our power. Opinion must have its sway, first upon individuals, then upon nations, and at length extend its influence to the whole world.

In this manner have been effected all those great changes which point out the advance of man to the high state of perfection of which he is capable. Slavery was thus abolished; and were this one nation to advocate with equal zeal this even more holy object—the emancipation of the soul from the bondage of crime, the cause of peace would shortly reign triumphant. Yes! let the motive of our actions and exertions be the conviction, that war is inconsistent with Christianity; and let the object, the end ever in view, be the attainment of lasting peace. By dividing the powers of the mind, grand designs are lost, and vast substantial benefits are frittered away into mere shadows. When we are once convinced that an event, subject to our control, will benefit the human race, we should direct the forces of our intellect to that one point, until it be gained. This has been the conduct of wise men.* They, when persuaded that an object existed really deserving of their labours, have persevered through every obstacle, have overcome every difficulty, and have super-

* For example see Wilberforce, Clarkson, Howard, Romilly, and others.

seded opposition by keeping the one object in view, and never losing sight of its possession. When a number of individuals collect into one focus their powers, and act in this resolute, united manner, and when the undertaking is one worthy of Divine assistance, they must, by the blessing of Providence, succeed. “When it is the cause of truth and of God that is pursued,” observes a forcible writer, “let no man sit down to count upon difficulties, before he perform his duty. Luther encountered the corruptions of Rome, fortified by the wealth and power of Europe. Clarkson and others, by whose exertions the slave trade was abolished in Great Britain, were not appalled by the obvious difficulties and hazard of the enterprise ; and let those who would know what the persevering exertions of one man can accomplish, read the life and benevolent labours of Howard. I mention these men to show that, *though a man should find himself standing alone in a world of error, he is not to be deterred from efforts at reformation, merely by the probability of ill success, or the weakness of the means to be employed.*”

We entreat all our fellow Christians to sink at once every minor difference, and without distinction of sect or of opinion, to unite in this all-absorbing desire. Those who work for peace, should be themselves peaceful, and labour together in

fellowship and love. Let all show their sincerity for the end which they seek to gain, by uniting as it becomes brethren to unite.

We beseech *all* Christians, of whatever denomination, to shake off the apathy which oppresses them. Each should make the cause his own, for it is that of his Saviour; each, rising from his dangerous torpor, should share in the sentiment of that poet* who ever devoted his intellect to its true and worthy object, religion, and whose works abound in love and peace. He it is that exclaims :

“ I cannot rest
A silent witness of the headlong rage
Of heedless folly, by which thousands die,
Bone of my bone, and kindred souls to mine.”

Our duty lies plainly before us. Oh ! let us eagerly embrace it ; let us beware of neglecting or abusing it. Much is expected from those who have so much received ; and we incur an awful responsibility by allowing the present system of murder, rapine, and crime of every description, to disgrace and condemn the world.

There is no individual so mean or so despicable as to be incapable, by his voice and opinions, of having some influence on other members of the human family. Whatever the success, if one exert himself in a good cause, he will, at all events, have the gratification which ever attends the con-

* Cowper.

sciousness of having attempted to please our Maker, and to benefit our fellow men.

“The breasts, which happiness bestow,
Reflected happiness shall know.”

Every man has at least a *tongue* to plead this cause in his domestic circle, and among his friends. Some may be favoured with the powers of eloquence, and where can they find a nobler theme? Let them instil the principles of peace into the hearts of their auditors.

Another can write clearly and forcibly, let him take up the pen, and convince the reason of his brethren.

Another may possess the gift of poesy. Let him desert the oft-told tale of battles and of warriors, unless it be only to describe them in their *true* colours. This high order of genius should not thus be blemished; it should not be abused to mislead and confuse the mind; but its possessor should soar with a far more elevated ambition—that of devoting the intellect to the service of Him from whom it came, and to whom it must return; that of instructing and enlightening his fellow creatures, for whose benefit superior mental powers were conferred.

“War and the great in arms, shall poets sing?
Havoc and tears and spoils and triumphing:
The morning march, that flashes to the sun,

The feast of vultures, when the day is done,
And the strange tale of many slain for one ?”*

Others may possess wealth. Let them recollect that the value of money depends on the object to which it is applied, and thus may become a blessing or a curse to its possessor. Where could they find so worthy an object as universal and lasting peace ? It will hardly be credited that such an association as the Peace Society, in this great Christian nation, has not had sufficient funds subscribed to pay for its expenditure.

From the report of 1840, we gather that its income from 1839 to 1840, arising from subscriptions and donations, amounted to £790 18s., and by the sale of tracts, £92 8s. 8d., together £883 6s. 8d. The expenditure, including agent’s expenses, printing, &c., was £1084 7s. 8d., showing an excess of expenditure beyond the income, of £201 1s. The liabilities of the society unprovided

* Rogers. And thus Montgomery bids farewell to war :

“ Peace to the trumpet ! No more shall my breath
Sound an alarm in the dull ear of death.

* * * *

I will not, as bards have been wont since the flood,
With the river of song swell the river of blood ;
—The blood of the valiant, that fell in all climes,
—The song of the gifted, that hallowed all crimes,
—All crimes in the *war-fiend* incarnate in one,
War withering earth, war eclipsing the sun,
Despoiling, destroying since discord began,
God’s works and God’s mercies, man’s labours and man.”

And see Note N, in Appendix.

for, amounted to upwards of £150.* The report then adds : “ Much, very much more, might be done, had your committee the means at their disposal. New fields of labour open before them ; and those in which they have toiled for years, require much more cultivation.’ The fallow ground in the new fields must be broken up, and the seeds of the kingdom of peace cast into them, and in common with the fields already occupied, the progress of the plant must be watched, and the thorns and briars, as they grow up, must be weeded out ; and then, with the gentle rain and sunshine of Divine influence, the rich harvest of universal peace is sure, ‘ for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.’ ”

Individuals should enrol themselves members of this society, and thus by union they would add greatly to their value and influence.

They should purchase the tracts for perusal and distribution ; they should give what they can afford, however small the sum, remembering that the widow’s mite was acceptable, and that it is better to lay up treasures in heaven, “ where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal.”

We appeal to all Christians, without one ex-

* The report of 1841, states the income of the society to be £1579 8s. 2d. : the expenditure, £1823 8s. 4d. ; showing an excess of expenditure beyond the income of £244 0s. 2d. ; while the liabilities of the society unprovided for, amount to £100.

ception. Men, women, and children, who profess the faith of Jesus, should exert themselves in His cause, and free his religion from that reproach which is cast upon it through the misdeeds of his pretended followers. If some still are prejudiced in favour of defensive war, at least let them oppose all offensive war: if some think our moral arguments are inconclusive, let them resist war on the ground of mercy and humanity: if they will not admit the cogency of these dictates, let them act from prudence and policy.—In a word, whatever the cause, let war meet with a resolute opposition, with a most decided resistance. We say to all, “Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.”*

Christian monarchs, from their responsible and important office, have a most urgent duty cast upon them. To their hands much has been committed by Providence; from them much will be demanded. They reign over millions of souls; they are probably loved and revered by their subjects, who feel grateful for a kind interest in their welfare, and who pray for the preservation of their sovereigns. How can they doom those

* Philippians iv. 8.

subjects to destruction? How condemn them to death, or make them executioners of their fellow beings, who are exempt from the authority of the king that condemns them? And yet all this is done by a declaration of war.

By the power assigned to majesty of making peace or war, the fate of millions depends on the breath of a ruler. What an awful task is thus imposed! The minister of justice hears both parties, weighing well the consistency, the relation, and the weight of the proof; he searches calmly and deeply into the truth, and then probably refers it to the united decision of others, and only reserves to himself the office of acting on their opinion. But rulers are frequently hurried by passion, or by popular frenzy, or by ministerial artifice, into acts of hostility, that involve the destruction of nations.

We read of an English judge, who, having sentenced an innocent person to death, said, he never could forgive himself. Surely some such compunction must visit a royal breast, when he dooms so many innocent beings.

“ Ah! why will kings forget that they are men?
And men that they are brethren? Why delight
In human sacrifice? Why burst the ties
Of nature that should knit their souls together
In one soft bond of amity and love?—
Yet still they breathe destruction, still go on
Inhumanly, ingenious to find out
New pains for life, new terrors for the grave,

Artificers of death ! Still monarchs dream
Of universal empire growing up
From universal ruin. Blast the design,
Great God of Hosts ; nor let thy creatures fall
Unpitied victims at ambition's shrine ! ”*

Let the highest ambition of a king be, to live and die as becomes a *Christian*. The foundation of a sovereign's security and fame, is never so firmly built, as when it rests on internal and foreign tranquillity, and on the love and prosperity of his people. What right appears so divine as that which is exercised in imitation of the Divine attributes,—in dispensing justice, tempered with mercy,—in diffusing peace and happiness ?

One,† who had well studied the characters of kings, who had seen the results of their different lines of conduct, after speaking of the death of a good and peaceful monarch in calmness and tranquillity, observes : “ How different is the closing scene of that sovereign whose views were influenced by ambition only, and the love of war ! How often does this last moment appear terrible to him, and of what avail are his most glorious exploits ? Weighed down by age and sickness, when the shades of death surround him, and when he would fain chase away the melancholy reflections that haunt him, does he then command his attendants to entertain him with a recital of his vic-

* Bishop Porteus on “ Death.”

† M. Necker.

torious battles? Does he order those trophies to be spread before him, on which he might discern the tears that watered them? No! all these ideas terrify and distract him. '*I have been too fond of war,*' was the last speech of the most powerful of kings; such were the words he addressed to his great grandson! Too late regret, which certainly did not suffice to calm the agitations of his soul! Ah, how much happier he would have been, if, after a reign similar to that of Titus and Antoninus, he had been able to say to the young prince, 'I have experienced all sorts of pleasures: I have been acquainted with all kinds of glory: believe a dying king; I have found no real content but in the good I have been able to do. . . . Do not suffer yourself to be dazzled by these brilliant seductions of the supreme rank, but more especially resist those wrong ideas of the greatness of kings, which ambitious or interested men will endeavour to inculcate in you. You will be rendered envious of the power of other nations, before you have time to be acquainted with your own; you will be urged to destroy their felicity before you have time to reflect on the good you may do to your own subjects; you will be solicited to overturn the peace of the world, before you have secured the maintenance of order within your own kingdom; and you will be inspired with the desire of increasing your dominions, before you have

even ascertained what cares and informations are necessary to govern with prudence the smallest of your provinces.' ”*

May the King of kings, the only Ruler of princes, so guide the heart of our loved and youthful monarch, who now reigns over Britain, that religion may unite with a woman's compassion and a queen's influence, to seek and to establish lasting peace throughout the world !

There would be no golden age like that period which welcomed such a monarch. The days of Elizabeth, so often vaunted, would fade away before the glories of this reign.

There would be no eulogy on record, like that which would be ever associated with the name of our queen. History would assume a new garb,—the white robe of innocence, instead of the blood-stained mantle of crime ; it would henceforth number and enrol among its heroes, a sovereign superior to them all, one who was only ambitious of doing good.

Be animated, O ye rulers of the earth, by a truly paternal love. No longer devote your children to unnatural and fratricidal destruction ! In the words of the royal psalmist, who, himself a king, ever desired peace : “ Be wise now, O ye

* See also “ *Télémaque*,” by M. Fénelon, which abounds in wise reflections on the duty of kings, and also advocates the superior policy of peace.

kings ; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him !”

How incumbent is it upon the ministers of Jesus to display his doctrines in a pure and clear light, and to point out to the flock entrusted to their care, those corruptions which have stolen into the faith and practice of professing Christians !

We deeply regret to say, that the clergy of this country, with some most laudable exceptions, have not preached the gospel according to its letter or its spirit in regard to this question.

It has lately been objected, that the thirty-seventh article of the church is opposed to our pacific principles ; and on this plea one college at Oxford absolutely refused to accept the publications of the Peace Society !—Let it be remembered, that the sixth article states, that a Christian is not bound to believe any thing that cannot be proved from the Scriptures ; and surely the clergy must know, or are capable of knowing, the spirit of peace which is diffused through the holy religion of Jesus. If any article of the church prevents ministers from performing their manifest duty, it should be at once repealed, and addresses to the queen and parliament for that purpose

should be drawn up and presented. With reference to this subject, in a letter to the Peace Society, Dr. John Lee* observes, "Having been brought up as a member of that church, and educated at one of its universities, and consequently anxious for its welfare, but not blind to some imperfections in its doctrines, and some failings in its practices—I have no hesitation in declaring, if it be true that the thirty-seventh article of its religion, and any other of its articles, be opposed to the principles of this society, that the sooner those articles be repealed or reformed, the better it will be for the credit of the State Establishment, for the cause of truth and justice, and the welfare of the people."

And some of the best and wisest men who have adorned the church, have not for a moment entertained such an opinion, that any one of the articles can, or should oppose peace.

Among many others, Bishop Watson has written very strikingly in favour of our views. "When the spirit of Christianity," he says, "shall exert its proper influence over the minds of individuals, and especially over the minds of public men in their public capacities, war will cease throughout the Christian world."

Bishop Horne has left the following exhortation: "But chiefly to you, O ye princes, to

* See Herald of Peace for July, 1840, p. 153.

you do they call, and their voice is to you who are the judges of the earth, deputed by the Sovereign of the universe to rule His people in the integrity of your hearts, and to guide them by the skilfulness of your hands. View the states of Christendom, often becoming for years together the theatre on which your subjects are sent forth, thousands after thousands, to inflict and suffer in their turns, the manifold calamities of war. Tell it not in the realms of Hindostan ; publish it not in the streets of Constantinople ; make it not known in the newly-discovered islands of the distant sea ; lest infidels triumph, and savages laugh us to scorn.” Archbishop Secker* thus expresses his opinion upon this subject : “ War in all cases is accompanied with dreadful evils, of which we are as apt to consider the heavy expense as if it were the only one, as to forget the sufferings and miserable deaths of such multitudes of human creatures, *though every one of them is a murder* committed by the authors of this calamity. But war is also a state of no less wickedness than calamity and terror. Wherever it breaks out, one side at least must have acted grievously contrary to humanity and justice ; contrary too, in all likelihood, to solemn treaties, and that from no better motives than little resentments, groundless or distant fears, eagerness of gaining unnecessary

* Vol. iii. pp. 376, and 390.

advantages, restless ambition, false glory or wantonness of power. To such detestable idols are whole armies and nations deliberately sacrificed, though *every suffering* thus caused is a *heinous crime, and every death a murder !*"

We have already quoted the well-known lines from the poem "on Death," by Bishop Porteus. Dr. Whately, archbishop of Dublin, has displayed a Christian anxiety in this holy cause; and in a recent letter addressed by his Grace to the Peace Society, are these words: "No one can more heartily desire than myself, the extinction of that great disgrace to civilized men and Christians—War."*

We may also refer to the excellent treatises in favour of our doctrines, which issue from the press, by "a Clergyman of the Church of England,"† and we might name many other divines who have openly countenanced by their presence, their pen, their eloquence, and their purses, this essential doctrine in the faith of their blessed Master.

Affection for the sacred office of those who have devoted their lives to the study and propagation of the word of life; a desire to see reverence paid to the holy objects they have in view; a knowledge of the influence they possess in society, all combine to make us earnestly call upon the ministers of

* Herald of Peace. New Series, No. 13.

† See "Peace or War?" "Address to all Christians," &c. &c.

Jesus to fulfil that trust which has been committed to their hands; to preserve inviolate the pure religion of our Saviour; and to guide the souls of their fellow beings into the only path of salvation. They have studied the scriptures, and profess to teach their spirit and substance; can they then refuse to follow the example of their Master, of the disciples, of the early Christians, and at once to declare that all war is inconsistent with the very elements of their religion? Oh! how kindly and warmly would the human heart respond to those lessons, taught by pious men, and inculcating peace and good will! Tear off, then, the veil which has too long concealed truth; take up the word of God, and struggle in the good cause.

It is useless, nay, it is cruel, to preach against the evil passions, and to denounce the victims to their power, if at the same time you encourage a custom which is the essence of every evil passion, which stifles every good impulse, and provides abundant food for crime.

With what consistency can you, the ministers of peace, read aloud the Decalogue, and teach, "Thou shalt not kill," or, perhaps, preach from the sermon on the mount, and, having declared the dreadful punishment which awaits the crime of strife and murder, on the same, or a succeeding sabbath, desecrate the holy temple, and degrade

your sacred office by offering up prayers for victory in the fight, and for a bloody triumph over our enemies ?

If you can be conscientiously assured that war is not prohibited by religion, that it does not nourish crime and misery ; at once make a declaration to that effect, and satisfy by argument and truth the scruples of many, who, by their views, whether erroneous or not, may be led to suffer persecution, and even martyrdom, rather than renounce their peaceful character. It is your duty, if you believe them to be in error, to disabuse their minds ; to tell them they may slaughter their brethren, they may destroy towns, and give way to passion, lust, revenge, and cruelty ; lest they should, from good, though mistaken motives, refuse to act as soldiers, or to defend themselves and others in the fight, and thus incur the punishment of the laws. But if you really and truly feel as we do upon the subject, one course, and that alone, lies before you. Boldly advance your principles ; tell kings they must cease to war, or cease to usurp the title of Christians ; tell subjects they must prefer God to man, they must love their enemies, and suffer any penalty rather than consent to murder their fellow beings. Tell them these scripture truths. Imitate the candour of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, who stated publicly in the House of Lords, that “ no man

who has much religious sympathy, has any business with the profession of a soldier." Refuse to allow your churches and cathedrals to be filled with monuments of war, and strife, and blood, and to abound in eulogies on those who fell in the midst of crime, which they themselves had nourished. Tamerlane is said to have built a monument of ninety thousand human heads; but not less horrible to the reflective mind, is the warrior's tomb and the warrior's praise in the house of prayer. The sanctity of the temple dedicated to God is violated by such impious trophies; and how greatly at variance do they appear with that calm and holy tranquillity which should reign undisturbed in a place of worship! How blasphemous do they seem when contrasted with the figure of our Saviour enduring the agonies of the cross *to save—yes! to save—his enemies!*

Hear how a Christian minister addresses you: "Above all, let the ministers of Christ be men of peace, and advocates for the peace of the world. If we seek to inflame the malevolent passions of the soul, who shall be found to cool them? The people of the world talk of glory from victory and conquest; but we know that honour and happiness can arise only from doing the will of God, and living in subjection to Him, and in peace with men. Let us tell the world so, and call them away from their angry contests for mastery, to

dwell in love. O that those who preach to emperors and kings, to ministers of state, to senates and to parliaments, would lift up their voices like a trumpet, and proclaim to them from the great Jehovah and from Jesus Christ, who shed his blood for sinners, to save them from misery; that the religion of the New Testament is a religion of peace; and that for the blood of every man slain in war, the Almighty Ruler of the universe will demand an account from those who direct the affairs of nations, and decree violence and war, and do not pursue peace with their whole heart. . . .

If you refuse your aid, ‘go strip yourselves of the robes of office, depart and officiate at the altars of some savage idol who delights in slaughter and in blood.’ But why do I speak thus? Surely, none of you, my brethren, will refuse to come forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty foes of human happiness.”*

The pulpit has been, and may still be one of the most powerful engines, in effecting the advancement of man, and in freeing him from the trammels of folly and wickedness. Hence were launched the thunders of religious eloquence against most of the prevailing vices of past ages. The voices of the clergy were raised in favour of the emancipation of the body; can they refuse to emancipate the soul? We implore of them,

* Rev. David Bogue, “Discourses on the Millennium.”

by their holy station, by their sacred profession, in the name of that religion which they teach,—by every dictate of humanity, and charity, and good will, we implore of them to advocate the meek and peaceful spirit which Jesus lived and died to instil into the bosom of the human race.

We exhort also every Christian government to exercise their power in preserving and establishing peace. We ask of them to apply this antidote to crime and violence; to seek for internal tranquillity by their own example with regard to foreign nations; to favour a system that would go farther to restrain the vices of man than any other measure.

Ye rulers have legislated for crime, and enacted punishment for its commission; adopt the wiser and more humane part of preventing its occurrence. Strike at the very root of crime; *legislate for peace!* Too long have administrations given way to the voice of rashness and excitement, to the false dazzling of glory, or the plea of honour.

The wise Sully thought a desire for peace, the brightest gem in his master's crown. M. Necker, a politic and celebrated minister, by his example and his advice, has left a guide for succeeding counsellors of their sovereign. The language of an honest minister, impressed with a deep sense of the various duties of his station, would be in

these words : "Sire, a wise administration is of more value to you than the most refined political system ; and if to such resources, you unite that empire over other nations which is acquired by a transcendant character of justice and moderation, you will enjoy at once the greatest glory and the most formidable power. Ah ! sire, exhibit this magnificent spectacle to the world, and then, if triumphal arches be wanting, make the tour of your provinces, and preceded by all the good you have diffused, appear surrounded by the blessings of your people, and the ecstatic acclamations of a grateful nation made happy by its sovereign."*

And let the people of a Christian nation exert the vast power which they possess in their moral character, and lift up their united voices for lasting peace. They form the sinews of war ; for it has been justly said, that armies cannot be supported without pay, and that their pay cannot be raised without taxation. It is for the people, then, to determine upon having peace, and they must triumph. Let them elect representatives who will maintain this blessing, and support the measure of a congress and a court of nations. It is useless and absurd to complain of heavy taxation, of burdens and fetters upon industry, if the cause of all these be allowed to flourish in undisturbed vigour. In an external and a domes-

* "Reflections on Calamities of War," by M. Necker.

tic view, it is for the true interest of a people to demand a pacific policy. Their property, their families, their lives, and their liberties, are all endangered by that lawless violence, and licentious rapine, which are encouraged and fostered by the continuance of war.

Let individuals, singly and collectively—let the press, which exerts so extensive an authority over opinion, cease to keep alive and inflame that excitement, or rather madness, which blinds the reason, leads captive the sober judgment, and hurries a whole people to destruction. Fellow Christians, be not deceived by the false light of national honour and national glory. True honour, true glory, wait on those who, celebrated for justice, probity, and wisdom, perform the will of God.

Listen now to the words of the French minister : “ I address myself equally to you, great nation, (Britain,) to whom the spirit of liberty communicates all its force. Let the energy of your soul, let that abundance or that *community* of knowledge which results from it, lead you to those sentiments of political humanity which are so well connected with elevated thoughts. Be not influenced by a blind avidity for riches, by the pride of confidence, or a perpetual jealousy of others. And since the waves of the ocean free you from the imperious yoke of disciplined armies, recollect that your

first attention is due to the preservation of that precious government you enjoy. Tremble lest one day you become indifferent to it, if from the excessive taxes, which war accumulates, you expose to the dreadful conflicts of private interest, that public and patriotic sentiment which has so long been the source of your greatness and your felicity." And to America he says: "Young and rising nation, keep as much as possible aloof from the passions which agitate our hemisphere. Derive from our decayed institutions only the lessons of experience, and long may you preserve the simplicity of the primitive ages! Finally, do honour to human nature, by showing that, if left to its own energies, it is still capable of those virtues which support order, and of that wisdom which ensures tranquillity."*

Fellow countrymen: Let not your fears be worked upon, nor your envy raised, because Russia possesses extensive territories, and is advancing in prosperity; but remember that you are Christians; and endeavour to promote this plan, whose success will render the happiness and wealth of other nations a source of joy, and not of anxiety.

Let not cupidity, nor injustice, nor avarice, so far prevail as to enlist your passions and prejudices against the unoffending and peace-

* M. Necker.

able Chinese. Remember you are Christians, and therefore struggle alone for the attainment of a boon which will break down the barriers of narrow selfish feeling,—which will overcome unfounded aversion, and cause all men to extend the hand of fellowship and good will.

Neither be inflamed against the Americans, who are descended from common ancestors with yourselves, who profess the same religion, and speak the same language. Follow out pacific principles to their fullest extent. Then will you shortly be freed from the burden and the yoke of a standing army; you will not be weighed down by the alarming expenses of war. No longer will your commerce be checked and destroyed, nor your life's blood be shed in an awful conflict with your brethren. Famine and pestilence will not so frequently threaten you, nor will crime cast so fearful a blight over your moral character and your means of happiness.

Christian parents, do you display a more tender zeal for the welfare of your children, than that which you show by dazzling their young minds with false glory, and inspiring them with unchristian sentiments. Do not allow their very toys to vitiate their dispositions, their very books to be replete with pagan morality, and incentives to sanguinary practices. How can you educate them at naval and military colleges? how permit

them to enter a service which is opposed to every dictate of religion?

“I scarcely know how to address myself,” writes the Rev. David Bogue, “to respectable matrons, who, after nursing their sons with the tenderest affection, send them away to the work of desolation, and rejoice at their success, when they make women like yourselves widows, and their children fatherless; or overwhelm an aged father and mother with sorrow, because their boy perished in the field by your young hero’s sword. A thousand times rather would I that God had said concerning me, ‘Write this man childless,’—than that a son of mine had ever imbrued his hands in the blood of man his brother.”

It has been said, that “those who rock the cradle rule the world;” and were mothers to instil into the minds of their offspring pure principles of Christianity, how wonderful a change would be effected! Cecil Lord Burleigh, in a letter to his son Robert, says, “I cannot consent that thou shalt train up thy sons in wars. For he that sets up his rest to live by that profession, can hardly be an honest man or a good Christian.” Parents who thus act, endanger their own souls, and those of their children; they expose themselves to lose the comfort and support of their age in the midst of sin, or, even if their sons survive the

battle, filial duty should not be expected as the fruit of a warlike education.

Christian sisters, whose nature it is to be compassionate and to sympathize in the sufferings of others, we ask you to exert your influence over man, soften his violent dispositions, and recall to his mind the precepts of religion. You have a holy mission to perform,—a mission composed of love, mercy, and pity. At once, then, oppose that evil which nourishes every quality that can render your power of no avail, and which sows the seeds of misery to so many of your fellow creatures. No longer sanction a system that makes yourselves and your sisters widows ; that makes your children fatherless, and your home desolate. Ask your own hearts whether you have done your duty ; whether it is sufficient to express pity for suffering and horror for crime, without making one effort to remove the dire source ?

Yes ! let us all unite in this grand and holy undertaking. We are about to make war against war ; a crusade against vice and misery ; feeling assured that the Father of Heaven smiles favourably on efforts which have for their object the salvation of man. “Go forth, then, friends of mankind, peaceful soldiers of Christ ! and in your various relations, at home and abroad, in private life, and, if it may be, in more public

spheres, give faithful utterance to the principles of universal justice and love; give utterance to your deep, solemn, irreconcilable hatred of the spirit of war.”* We must bring about the happy kingdom of Jesus promised by the inspired writers of old, and by our Saviour himself. Then must strife cease from the world, and men will exclaim : “ How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished !”† The earth will wear a new face; the ties of brotherhood will be formed and strengthened. Peace once again will visit man, and come as the attendant of Christianity. All things will appear grateful for the change; and the happiness of man will tell of crimes destroyed, and virtues yet to come. “ Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth; and righteousness shall look down from heaven: yea, the Lord shall give that which is good; and our land shall yield her increase. Righteousness shall go before him, and shall set us in the way of his steps.” We shall leave to posterity the noblest of inheritances. Millions in existence, and nations

* Channing. And let us join in the sentiment of the poet :—

“ Aggrederere O magnos, aderit jam tempus, honores ;
 Cara Deum soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum !
 Adspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
 Terrasque tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum,
 Adspice, venturo lætentur ut omnia sæclo.”

† 2 Sam. i. 27.

yet unborn, will celebrate that joyous period when man first rose from his apathetic slumber, and, throwing off the chains of vice, the bonds of crime, and the burden of dark and barbarous ages, established the gospel in its purity, and again proclaimed to the world with the voice of angels, "GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, AND ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN!"

END OF THE THIRD PART.

NOTES.

NOTES.

NOTE A, page 13.

THE thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans may be urged as a plea for magistrates to use that violence, from which it is the duty of individuals to abstain. The principal passages on which reliance is placed by our opponents, are the following : " Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God. Who-soever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God ; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation." " Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power ? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same ; for he is the minister of God to thee for good : but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid ; for he beareth not the sword in vain ; for he is a minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore, ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For this cause pay ye tribute also," &c. Peter, in his first epistle, uses a similar exhortation, adding, " For so is the will of God, that *with well doing*, ye put to silence the ignorance of foolish men."

The plain meaning of these words appears to establish what we all admit, the magistrate's right to punish criminals, and the people's duty not to resist with violence the authority of their rulers. The epistles of Paul and of Peter were composed at the time when " Rome contained within herself the seeds of civil war and insurrection. Paul's epistle was addressed to Jewish, as well as Gentile converts, the former of whom might be peculiarly liable to seek to avenge themselves, because, when they were the chosen people of God, they were sometimes used as the instruments of his righteous vengeance

upon the heathen. It was written a short time previous to the dreadful persecution of Nero, in which Paul himself perished. He foresaw this trial of the Christian faith, and desired to prepare them for it, and to impress upon their minds the important lesson given by the Lord Jesus Christ, 'Resist not evil.' He entreated them to submit to the power of those who could kill the body, but after that have nothing more they can do. How touching and how appropriate is his exhortation to them, 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God.' '*

The context also shows that these epistles of Paul and Peter afford no sanction for war, foreign or civil. Peter, in the same chapter, persuades all to endurance of injuries; and Paul, immediately before and after the words which we have extracted from his letter, insists on the virtues of forgiveness of wrongs, of returning good for evil, and of love to all men.

NOTE B, page 35.

It may be instructive and interesting to review the ancient and venerable history of the Jews, in reference to our subject, more at large than has been attempted in the text of this work.

First, in order of time, we may observe, that the Almighty displayed His attribute of vengeance for his creatures' blood by the terrible curse inflicted upon the fratricide Cain.† But the sanctity of life was not to be violated even in the murderer; for the Lord said, "whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold." As the chief amongst the crimes which caused the deluge, we are told, "the earth was filled with violence."‡ And did not the Lord plainly show that He alone was to take life, by delivering a law for its preservation: "at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man,"§—directly after he had destroyed the whole world? Although it is evident that the patriarchs are not to be selected as perfect models for the Christian character, yet it must be a work of pleasure and utility to learn the conduct of those who were generally favoured by Divine Providence. We have a very fine instance of a forbearing spirit in Abraham, espe-

* "Objections to Peace considered," by a Layman.

† Gen. iv. 10, &c.

‡ Gen. vi. 13.

§ Gen. ix. 5, 6.

cially on the occasion of a strife between his herdsmen and those of Lot. "Let there be no strife between me and thee," he said, "*for we be brethren*. . . . If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."* Thus also Isaac in the valley of Gerar, whenever a dispute arose concerning the valuable wells of water which had been dug, immediately moved from the scene of discord, relinquishing the well to the claimants, and commencing to dig another.† In the character of Jacob are many like features. When his sons, Simeon and Levi, slew Shechem, and spoiled his city, Jacob reprov'd their criminal act;‡ and on his deathbed, he observed, in reference to this conduct, "Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations, (or, "their swords are weapons of violence,") O my soul, come not thou unto their secret; unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall; cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel; I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel."§ How different his words to Judah: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be."|| But the actions of Judah had merited this distinction, for he and Reuben alone opposed the slaying of their brother Joseph. "Let not our hand be upon him," said Judah, "for he is our brother and our flesh."¶ The blessing upon Joseph is the most fervent and affectionate. "The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him; but his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob."** And the whole life of Joseph presents an example of one who returned

* Gen. xiii. 8, 9. We afterwards read of Abraham conquering the warlike kings who had captured Lot, and of his receiving the blessing of Melchizedek. It appears, however, that Abraham received a direct command from above to save Lot, for the words of Melchizedek were—"Blessed be the most high God which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand." Abraham gave tithe to the high priest, and refused to take any of the spoil (Gen. xiv. 18, &c.); and, immediately after, it was declared to him that certain wicked nations should be subdued by his posterity. (Gen. xv. 19, &c.)

† Gen. xxvi.

|| Gen. xlix. 10.

‡ Gen. xxxiv. 30.

¶ Gen. xxxvii. 26, 27.

§ Gen. xlix. 5, 6, 7.

** Gen. xlix. 23, 24.

good for evil, and who merged every feeling of revenge in his tender affection for his erring brethren.*

The wars of the Israelites were of an extraordinary nature, undertaken under special circumstances, and attended by incidents peculiar to themselves. Hence they are rendered completely inapplicable as a support for modern warfare. Every nation doomed to destruction was conspicuous for its sinfulness, particularly for its infringement of natural law, by turning from the only true God to the worship of idols. The people of Israel, on the other hand, trusted in the Holy Creator, and hence they appear to have been not only delivered from the tyranny of Pharaoh, but also to have been selected as a scourge for the wicked, to teach man how surely punishment follows disobedience, how certainly reward succeeds compliance with the Divine commands; and, at the same time, to influence the Israelites themselves against those crimes, of which they were made the avengers. The sword in this case was as the lightning which strikes the blasphemer; the Hebrews were as the plagues which destroyed the Egyptians for their hardness of heart.

The propositions, which we have laid down in general terms, are fully supported by the references of which we can offer only the most important.

1. *The doomed nations were in a state of sinfulness.* It is scarcely possible to find a command to slay without some description of that iniquity which was no longer to disgrace the earth. "Mine angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites, &c., and I will cut them off. *Thou shalt not bow down to their gods,*" &c. And Moses expressly told his people, before they took possession of Canaan, not to say—"for my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land; but for *the wickedness of these nations* the Lord doth drive them

* In Gen. xlviii. 22, Israel says to Joseph, "I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." These words have either a literal or a figurative signification. If the former, they refer to Shechem or Sichem, (John iv. 5; and Acts vii. 16,) which Michaelis proposes to insert in the Hebrew text; and which might have been called a conquest with respect to Jacob. The Chaldee version, however, adopts the figurative sense, translating the words, "By my prayer and by my supplication," and then they would seem to express the ground which Jacob bought of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred pieces of money, (Gen. xxiii. 19,) and which "became the inheritance of the children of Joseph." (Joshua xxiv. 32.)

out from before thee. . . . and that He may perform the word which the Lord sware unto thy fathers.”* Thus the Deity condescended to declare to one portion of his creatures the sin of another portion ; and until we have an express declaration from heaven to a like effect, one ground for a parallel reasoning is taken away.

In order to show the connection between the crime and its penalty, the Israelites themselves were threatened, and actually visited by a *like* punishment, when they pursued like iniquities.†

It is also important to observe, that although the chief offence seems to have been idolatry, as a sin peculiarly against the Maker himself, yet among other numerous crimes *war* stands prominently forward, and is frequently mentioned as one of the reasons for punishment. Thus the kings came forth to meet the Israelites, and was often the first to attack.‡

To most of the cities the Jews were to offer peace, and if it was refused, destruction ensued.§

The Canaanite king, when taken as a prisoner and maimed, said, “Threescore and ten kings having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table ; *as I have done, so God hath requited me.*”||

Destruction is threatened to Ethiopia, for pride and violence ;¶ to Babel and Chaldæa, “for they showed the Israelites no mercy :** so to Edom ;†† and to Ninevah,‡‡ of which last city it is said, “Let the people turn from the violence that is in their hands,” and “woe to the *bloody city!* it is full of *lies and robbery* . . . all who hear the bruit of thee, shall clasp the hands over thee ; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually ?”

Here also we may notice that the Israelites themselves were afterwards punished, not only for idolatry, but also for that sanguinary disposition which they had acquired. They fought without the sanction of Jehovah, and violated his command : “Thou

* Deut. ix. 4, 5 ; and for further evidence see Exodus xxiii. 23, 33 ; xxxiv. 12 ; Deut. vi. 14 ; vii. 4, 16, 25 ; viii. 19 ; xii. 2, 30. Josh. xxiii. 13. Judges ii. 3, 14. Lev. xviii. 24.

† Exodus xxxii. 27. Numbers xxv. 5. Judges ii. 12, 13, 24.

‡ Deut. iii. 1. 1 Sam. xxx. 1.

§ Deut. xx. 10, 11, 12.

¶ Judges i. 7.

¶ Isaiah xviii. 1, &c.

** Isaiah xlvii. 6.

†† Obadiah.

‡‡ Nahum iii. Jonah iii.

shalt do no murder.” “They shed innocent blood . . . and the land was polluted with blood;”* and the Lord is made to utter these words—“When ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make any prayers I will not hear; *your hands are full of blood*. Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves.”† And the prophet thus denounces his country: “Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled, and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee! When thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled,” &c.‡ “*Your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity . . . the act of violence is in their hands . . . they make haste to shed innocent blood . . . wasting and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace they know not.*”§

2. *God expressly commanded the destruction of the iniquitous nations.* “Our God shall fight for us.” “I the Lord thy God am with you;” and the conflicts are called “the wars of the Lord.”|| “They gat not,” says David, “the land in possession by their own sword; neither did their own arm save them; but *thy* right hand and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favour unto them.”¶

The being and attributes of a Providence were manifested frequently by miraculous triumphs on the part of His people. “How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except their rock had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up?” . . . “One man of you shall chase a thousand, for the Lord your God he it is that fighteth for you.”** “So the walls of Jericho fell to the earth, when the priests sounded the trumpets.”††

Success invariably attended those wars which were sanctioned by the Deity; but when the children of Israel fought without this

* Psalm cvi. 38.

† Isaiah i. 15, 23.

‡ Isaiah xxxiii. 1.

§ Isaiah lix. 3, &c.; iii. 14; iv. 4; v. 7; xxvi. 21. Lam. iv. 13.

|| Numbers xxi. 14.

¶ Ps. xlv. 3. Exodus xvii. 8, 15; xxii. 22; xxxiv. 13, 24, &c. Lev. xviii. 3. Numb. xiv. 8; xxi. 3; xxiii. 21, &c. Deut. i. 21; ii. 33; iii. 2; ix. 3, 4, &c. Josh. i. 5; viii. 1; x. 8. Judg. i. 4. 1 Sam. xxx. 8. 1 Chron. xvi. 21. 2 Chron. xx. 15. Neh. iv. 20. Isaiah xli. 10, &c. Jer. xlvii. 6, &c. We should observe, that in no place had the Jews a *general* permission to war, but that the doomed nations were carefully distinguished, and in many cases (as in Deut. ii.) war was expressly forbidden to the Israelites.

** Deut. xxxii. 30. Josh. xxiii. 10.

†† Josh. vi. 20.

protection, they were neither to expect, nor to obtain a victory. Moses warned them, "Go not up, for the Lord is not among you; that ye be not smitten before your enemies. . . . But they presumed to go up unto the hill top, and then the Amalekites came down and smote them and discomfited them."*

What invariable and certain success have we met with, so as to make war on equal terms with these men?

3. The peculiarly religious character of "the wars of the Lord" at the same time rendered it a virtue to destroy the rebellious nations. Therefore the Almighty's anger was kindled, when the messengers returned an evil report of the land which they were sent to observe, and thereby discouraged the Israelites; and on this account Moses reprov'd the Reubenites and Gadites, when they desired to have possession before they reached Jordan. This sense of stern and necessitous duty urged Moses, who, in his natural character, was "very meek above all the men which were upon the face of the earth,"† to lead on a numerous people through every obstacle: this it was that caused him to slay the Egyptian; and this made him launch forth terrible denunciations against the enemies of his Lord.

From these causes, religious ceremonies were attached to these battles, as first, a tribute unto the Lord was to be levied on the spoil, and to be given to the priest as a heave-offering.‡ Secondly, it was often declared, that the earth was *polluted* by the shedding of human blood. "Blood it defileth the land." "He that toucheth the dead body of any man, shall be unclean seven days. He shall purify himself with it on the third day." In all such cases a purification was required.§

Do not these circumstances at once declare that the Jewish wars possessed features of their own, which cannot be communicated to any of those scenes of bloodshed and destruction so common amongst Christians?

* Numb. xiv. 42. Deut. i. 42. † Numb. xii. 3. ‡ Numb. xxxi. 28.

§ Numb. xix. 11; xxxi. 19. Lam. iv. 14. Haggai ii. 13. We should also observe, that it was the opinion of the Jews and their Lawgiver, that *they were not yet so perfect as they were destined to be* in their promised land; and we find peace described as the chief of those blessings which were to attend them after their weary pilgrimage. Deut. xii. 8; iii. 20; xxv. 19; xxxiii. 28. Josh. xxi. 24.

NOTE C, p. 45.

The principal lines in the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, relating to this subject, are the following :

“ Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri
Irrita perpetuâ solvent formidine terras.

* * * * *

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

* * * * *

* nec magnos metuent armenta leones,

Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores ;

Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni

Occidet : Assyrium vulgò nascetur amomum.

* * * * *

Hinc, ubi jam firmata virum te fecerit ætas,

Cedet et ipse mari vector ; nec nautica pinus

Mutabit merces : omnis feret omnia tellus.”

&c.

NOTE D, p. 62.

“ Mere angels,” observes Addison, “ if they look into the ways of men, to give in their catalogue of worthies, how different would it be from that which any of our own species would draw up ! We are dazzled with the splendour of titles, the ostentation of learning, and with the noise of victories. *They*, on the contrary, see the philosopher in the cottage, who preserves his soul in patience and thankfulness under the pressure of what little minds call poverty and distress. The evening walk of a wise man is more illustrious in their sight than the march of a general at the head of a hundred thousand soldiers ! Men are denominated great and glorious, only by an unfeigned exercise of humility—by a contemplation of God’s works, and by a generous concern for the good of mankind !”

NOTE E, p. 97.

The laws of nature do not, as some contend, sanction war. Puffendorf, in his elaborate work on this subject, proves what our own reason must suggest, that men are not naturally enemies, nor

is a state of nature one of warfare. He lays it down as a fundamental law of nature, "that every man should, as far as in him lies, promote and preserve a peaceful sociableness with others, agreeably to the main end and disposition of the human race in general;" and hence he derives the conclusion, that "whatever contributes necessarily to a universal sociableness, should be regarded as prescribed by the laws of nature; and, on the contrary, whatever disturbs it, to be forbidden by the same law."—B. i. c. i. And in B. viii. c. vi. s. 2, he observes, "Peace is a state most agreeable to human nature, which tends most to promote its happiness and security, and indeed which the law of nature was given to men principally to establish and preserve. Nay, further, peace is a state proper to human nature, as such, since it arises from a principle peculiar to mankind above the brutes." So Cicero says, "There are two kinds of contention, the one by argument, the other by violence: the one belongs to man, the other properly to brutes."

NOTE F, page 100.

Christians, having once learned their duty, must perform it, whatever may be the consequences. But even if we regard the exercise of moral power, in conformity to the Divine will, with a view to its *temporal* results, the prospect is most cheering.

The all-ruling Spirit has told us that pacific conduct is the most conducive to our welfare here and hereafter; and surely if such be His language, it is only just to believe, that if we expose ourselves to danger and difficulty in obedience to His commands, He will protect us, and guide such reliance and submission to our benefit. If we cease to war by His precepts, He will preserve us in peace.

However absurd some persons may be pleased to designate our endeavours, they will at least admit that their success is *possible* with God, to whom "all things are possible." Nay, we are told that even we can perform what appears a physical impossibility, if we have but faith, and that "nothing shall be impossible to us."*

Our Father *can* protect us; He *can* give us entire peace, guard us from all invasion or domestic insurrection; He can protect the invaded, and disarm the invader of our tranquillity. Some assert,

* Matt. xvii. 20. Mark x. 27.

with positive presumption, that, had we not resisted, we should have fallen under the power of some ambitious conqueror, and be the vassals of a foreign state. Yes ! we admit it on one supposition, and on that alone : if there be no God presiding over nations to shield us from harm ; but if, as we are taught by our religion, there exist a Deity above who rules the world, without whose knowledge not a sparrow falleth to the ground, and by whom the very hairs of our head are numbered, then it is for Him to say whether we fall or stand.

But He has also promised his shield of defence to those that will but seek and prove by their actions a desire to throw themselves on His protection. “ In famine He shall redeem thee from death : and in war from the power of the sword. Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue : neither shalt thou be afraid of destruction when it cometh. At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh : neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth. For thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field : and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee. And thou shalt know that thy tabernacle shall be in peace ; and thou shalt visit thy habitation, *and shalt not sin*. Lo this, we have searched it, so it is ; hear it, and know thou it for thy good.”* Such words are applicable to all who believe in a supreme Providence. “ When He giveth quietness, who then can make trouble ? And when He hideth his face, who then can behold Him ? Whether it be done against a nation or against a man only.”† Jesus has compared the man who performs his word, to one that builds his house upon a rock ; while he who trusts in his own might, erects on the sands a fabric that bends before the wind and falls before the wave. Human force is doubly weak when it is based on sin, for “ every plant,” says our Lord, “ which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up ;”‡ and in the words of his disciple, “ Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.”§ Our Saviour also exhorts us not to fix our thoughts on worldly things : “ (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek :) but seek ye *first* the kingdom of God, and his righteousness ; and all these things shall be added unto you.”|| If we have love for our Father, we need entertain fear for neither man nor beast. “ If

* Job v. 20, &c.

† Job xxxiv. 29.

Matt. xv. 13.

§ 1 Cor. iii. 11.

|| Matt. vi. 32.

God be for us, who can be against us ?” * “ My strength,” exclaims Paul, “ is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly, therefore, will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.” Thus pointing out to us that where is apparently human weakness, there may be Divine strength and Divine assistance.

Experience is not very abundant in examples, because the trial of relying on Divine, rather than on human strength, has but seldom been made. But whenever man has been sufficiently wise to do so, the result has been most encouraging. A good conscience is the best protection. In the words of Horace—

“ Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauri jaculis, neque arcu,
Nec venenatis gravidâ sagittis
 . . . Pharetrâ.” †

And in the language of a higher authority, “ If a man’s ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.”

In the venerable history of the Jews, we find some extraordinary contrasts between the presumption and pride of self-defence, and the humility and wisdom of a reliance on Divine protection. Noah, who alone was a righteous man in a world of wickedness and violence, was preserved by the Almighty hand amidst the deluge which made the universe a wreck. The mighty, the strong, and the powerful, fell : kings and warriors could not resist ; their forces could not avail ; but yet one trusting, holy man, found favour in the sight of his Maker, and was saved !

Moses, who was “ a meek man ” above all others, though beset by strong and numerous foes, was enabled to free his people from their yoke of slavery, and lead them forth from the power of the tyrant Pharaoh ! How did he effect this grand work ? Had he vast armies, disciplined troops, warlike weapons, stores and

* Rom. viii. 31.

† “ The man who knows not guilty fear,
Nor wants the bow, nor pointed spear ;
Nor needs, while innocent of heart,
The quiver teeming with the poison’d dart.”—*Francis*.

equipments? No! He merely trusted in the God of Israel. When pursued by the remorseless Egyptians, he thus encouraged his people: "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will show to you to-day; for the Egyptians, whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more for ever. *The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.*" Here was no hesitation, no wavering, but confidence of the sincerest nature; and after the miraculous destruction of his enemies, well might he offer up the hymn: "The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation: he is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation; my father's God, and I will exalt him."

Compare with this the conduct and fate of the presumptuous and cruel Pharaoh. He trusted in human strength alone, and fell like a reed before the blast. He "made ready his chariot, and took his people with him: and he took six hundred chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them." And yet with so mighty a force he did not conquer. The host of warriors were not permitted to strike one blow. Their arms were useless; their strength was palsied; chariots, captains, horses and soldiers, all were mingled in the vast sepulchre of the ocean, so that, in the simple language of the scriptures, "there remained not so much as one of them." Behold the power of man, when opposed to the will of God!

Joshua was appointed to the high post of succeeding Moses. Before him the waters of Jordan divided: before him the walls of Jericho fell to the ground at one blast of the trumpet: at his word the sun and moon stood still; and against him no enemy could prevail. And yet his reliance was neither on armed might, nor on human stratagem, but on the Omnipotent Ruler of all. The Lord, when conferring his office upon him, said, "Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest." And his whole conduct was in accordance with the precept.

Gideon, taken from an humble occupation to be leader of the Israelites, met with great success, though his army was reduced to three hundred, when fighting against the Midianites, lest the children of Israel should "vaunt themselves, saying, My own hand hath saved me." This good fortune proceeded from a sincere faith in Divine Providence. When offered the crown, he refused it,

saying, "The Lord shall rule over you." With so mild and unambitious a leader, we need not wonder that "the country was in quietness forty years in the days of Gideon." How strongly is the contrast preserved in the respective characters of Goliath and David! The latter, though using weapons forbidden under the Christian dispensation, yet, we shall see, chiefly relied on the assistance of God. The giant, covered with mail, and armed with spear and shield, went forth in the pride of his strength. "I defy," he said, "the armies of Israel this day. Give me a man, that we may fight together." The young shepherd, David, heard of this insolence, and impelled by a consciousness that the Almighty was with the Israelites, offered himself as a champion against this challenger: "Seeing he had defied the armies of the living God;" and adding, "the Lord will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine." He went forth without sword or armour, and merely having a sling and five stones. He thus addressed his opponent: "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield: but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts. And all this assembly shall know that the Lord saveth not with sword and spear; for the battle is the Lord's, and he will give you into our hands." The giant fell slain by the first stone from the sling.

Solomon forms another example of the security of those who put their whole trust in the Almighty. He was the type of our Saviour; his name signified "pacific;" and his actions well merited the title. He who preferred wisdom above all things, could not have been free from a desire of peace; for, in his own words, "Happy is the man who findeth wisdom; her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."*

The effects of his desire for tranquillity appeared in the happy state of his kingdom. "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking, and *making merry*. Solomon had peace on all sides round about him. And Judah and Israel dwelt safely every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon."†

And he thus addressed the king of Tyre: "Thou knowest how that David my father could not build a house unto the name of the Lord his God, for the wars which were about him on every side,

* Proverbs iii. 13, 17.

† 1 Kings iv. 20, &c.

until the Lord put them under the soles of his feet ; but now the Lord my God hath given *me rest on every side, so that there is neither adversary, nor evil occurrent.*" We see in these passages the companions of peace—gladness and happiness, plenty, religion, security, freedom from molestation, and not even "an evil occurrent" in the land. Did not Solomon merit the title of the wisest of kings ? The conduct of Sennacherib may be opposed to that of the good king Hezekiah, whom he was besieging. Hezekiah encouraged his people, saying, "With him is an arm of flesh ; but with us is the Lord our God to help us, and to fight our battles." But the invader taunted them with this reliance, and cried out, "Let not Hezekiah deceive you, nor persuade you on this manner, neither yet believe him : for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand ; how much less shall your God deliver you out of mine hand ?" The besieged monarch *prayed to heaven*. An angel of God destroyed the principal leaders, and all the mighty men of valour under Sennacherib ; and he himself returning in disgrace, was slain by his own children.* So the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar is attributed to pride and presumption ;† while the security of Daniel, when cast into the lion's den, arose from his preferring to serve God rather than obey the iniquitous decree of Darius. "My God hath sent his angel," said Daniel, when found alive in the den, "and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me ; forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me."‡ These wonderful events should make us exclaim with the Psalmist, "Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy ; to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine." In the New Testament also, we find instances of the disciples being delivered from prison, and of Divine intervention on other occasions, in favour of those who trust in God.

NOTE G, page 137.

It is said, that, during the rule of the Emperor Antoninus, an engagement took place, in which he was miraculously victorious in consequence of a terrible thunderstorm, granted to the prayers of a Christian legion forming a portion of the Roman army. This

* 2 Chron. xxxii.

† Daniel iv. 27 ; and v. 18.

‡ Daniel vi. 22.

legion henceforth, we are told, went by the name of "the Thundering Legion."

The whole story, we have every reason to believe, is a forgery. Apollinaris, who lived at the time of the supposed miracle, was the first to mention it; Tertullian took it from him; Eusebius, about a century afterwards, revived it; it was then taken up by Gregory Nyssen, Orosius, Xiphilin, and Nicephorus, in succession. From one or the other of these, our English authors have admitted it without due examination. The credit lies entirely with Apollinaris, whose works are now lost, and he must have invented it for some purpose of his own, or have stated it without just foundation.

1. There were no Christians in the Roman army in the time of Antoninus, as we learn from the authority of Christian and pagan writers at that period. It was during this very reign that Celsus charged the Christians with refusing to serve in the armies.

2. This victory over the Quadi was never acknowledged to have been gained by the Christians in any way. Antoninus himself, who is said to have been in the battle, attributed his triumph to the heathen gods. He ordered a pillar to be built, and a medal to be struck; one gave the victory to Jupiter, the other to Mercury. The pagans either disowned the miracle, or assigned it to the same cause as the emperor. The Christians themselves did not believe it. How happens it that the most learned, the least credulous, and the most to be depended upon, such as Theophilus, Clemens, Origen. Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, should not have noticed the fact? Nay, Eusebius himself did not thoroughly credit it: he begins the relation—"There goes a report," and concludes, "but of this matter let every one judge as he thinks fit."

3. There was but one legion (the twelfth) of this name in the Roman armies, for at least the first four centuries. We meet with it as early as the time of Augustus, *more than 150 years before the event now spoken of*. This legion was afterwards at the siege of Jerusalem, but removed for cowardice, according to Josephus, from Syria to Melitene, on the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia, where it remained afterwards. Dio places it there in his time; also the Notitia, and Procopius, long after this, assign it to the same region. It was, in fact, quartered at Melitene for a very long period, and no one ever heard of it, after its removal from Syria, anywhere but at that place. Of course, therefore, it could not have

been present at the battle against the Quadi. The error of Eusebius, says a very learned critic, is easily accounted for: "Having heard that a legion had received a surname from this victory, and finding no other thundering legion on the list but that quartered at Melitene, he gave it the honour of the miracle on this occasion."*

NOTE H, page 154.

During the seven years' war, the grand vizier, by order of the Sultan, invited ministers of the Christian powers, resident at Constantinople, to an extraordinary conference. He depicted with feeling the ravages of war, and said his master had offered his mediation to the European courts. Addressing himself to M. Debordis, secretary to the Dutch embassy, he said, "Is it not shameful for you Christians, who wish to pass for the true believers, to have wholly banished from among you the spirit of peace; and that we Mussulmans, whom you call infidels, should find ourselves obliged to inspire you with the sentiments which you ought to possess?" The mediation was not accepted.

NOTE I, page 168.

There is an interesting account of the Loochoo Islanders, in the "Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the Western Coast of Corea, and the Loochoo Island," by Basil Hall, and in "a Narrative of a Voyage in the *Alceste* to the Yellow Sea," by Dr. Macleod. Among the inhabitants of this island, no arms of any kind were ever found, and they denied having any knowledge of war. "Crimes," says Macleod, "are said to be very unfrequent, and they seem to go perfectly unarmed." Captain Hall observes, "We saw nothing like poverty of any kind; every person we met, seemed contented and happy." During the stay of both these narrators, there was no quarrel between the natives and the sailors. The latter were quite subdued by the pacific conduct of the people. There was not a single instance of theft, neither did the British see any punishment inflicted.

* For a more detailed account see *Herald of Peace*, October 1819.

A Major Gray commanded an exploring party sent by the British government into the interior of Africa. He found that the strongest walled cities in that barbarous country had become a prey to war. At length he came to Barra Cunda, "which was surrounded only by a slight stake fence, interwoven with thorn bushes;" and this city was perfectly secure and safe: no one had molested it. "This arises," says the major, "from their never engaging in war."

We see the same respect for peaceful characters paid by individuals. Barclay, the celebrated apologist, was attacked by a highwayman. He made no other resistance than a calm expostulation. The felon dropped his presented pistol, and offered no farther violence.

One Leonard Fell was assaulted by a highway robber, who plundered him of his money and his horse, and afterwards threatened to blow out his brains. Fell solemnly spoke to the robber on the wickedness of his life. The man was astonished: he declared he would neither take his money nor his horse, and returned them both. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head."*

NOTE K, page 175.

"I shall not soon forget the different emotions," observes a talented writer, "with which I visited the monument of General Brock, the commander who fell in the English service at Queens-ton; and the spot near Philadelphia, where the wise and peaceful Penn made his treaty with the Indians. The one place is a barren eminence, whence the useless but costly tower, built to commemorate the event, seems to frown defiance at the neighbouring states, from which it is only separated by the Niagara, the stream of which hurries by, as though unwilling to linger in a scene of blood. The latter is a piece of ground in a valley hard by the wide and tranquil Delaware, and now, indeed, is gradually being covered with houses, and resounds with the hum of commerce. Apt emblems both of the results of war and of peace."†

* "Select Anecdotes," &c., by John Barclay.

† "Peace or War?" by a Clergyman.

NOTE L, page 194.

Some such institution as the Saxon frankpledge might be of value in preserving the peace. "King Alfred," says Blackstone, (Commentaries, vol. i. p. 114,) "to prevent the rapines and disorders which formerly prevailed in the realm, instituted tithings, so called from the Saxon, because ten freeholders with their families composed one. These all dwelt together, and were sureties or freepledges to the king for the good behaviour of each other. This, the laws of King Edward the Confessor (c. 20) very justly entitled—'Summa et maxima securitas per quam omnes statu firmissimo sustinentur,' " &c. Reeve (History of English Law, chap. i.) also observes, "An establishment like this contributed more effectually than any other to the prevention of crimes, as well as to the detection of offenders." We see some traces of the frankpledge in the liability of hundreds at the present day; but more stringent measures might be pursued, so as to render every parish interested in preventing an outbreak. At the same time, great caution must be used, lest anything like a system of *espionage* should be created.

NOTE M, page 268.

The second report of the committee of inquiry for the Massachusetts Peace Society, is given at length in the Herald of Peace for June 1819.

The following calculations, it is hoped, will be found to possess some interest. They are taken from the above-mentioned report.

To the United States the late wars cost about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, or fifty millions each year.

<i>To Great Britain</i> , naval and military expense of 1815	£54,317,677
To which add interest on augmentation of debt for that year	6,200,000
	<hr/>
	£60,517,677
But the expense in 1818 was	15,155,000
	<hr/>
Difference in the two years	£45,362,677
	<hr/>

<i>To France</i> , naval and military expense of	Francs.
1809	656,500,000
Add contributions on foreign nations	330,000,000

 986,500,000

But the expense in 1817 was	228,000,000
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Expense of one year of war therefore	758,500,000
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<i>United States</i> , civil expenses for 1818 : for up- wards of ten years they had been the same	Dollars.
<i>Britain</i> , in 1815, and had been so for ten years	3,809,806
	£4,461,087

<i>France</i> , in 1817, and had been the same for more than twenty years.	Francs.
	37,700,000

Education in heathen countries that the sum expended in war would afford : According to the estimate made by missionaries, that a school of fifty children would only cost 150 dollars per annum, the annual expense of war to the United States would annually educate

Expense to Great Britain, would educate ..	67,000,000
Expense to France, would educate	47,000,000

In our own countries, on the British or Lancasterian system, the annual expense to the United States would educate a number of children each year amounting to

Expense to Great Britain, would educate	551,467,838
Expense to France, would educate.....	389,010,110

It is computed that not more than sixteen millions can come of an age to be educated annually in the whole world.

So one year's expense of war to Great Britain would produce and circulate 148,956,451 bibles and testaments ; a number that would afford one at least to every family on the Eastern continent.

The expense of one year's war to Great Britain and the United States combined, would furnish and support 15,400 missionaries for twenty years.

The same amount would furnish ministers for all the destitute protestant parishes in the world, for upwards of ten years.

From Rees's Cyclopædia we learn, that, at the expulsion of James, the nation was encumbered with no other debt than that of £664,263 to the bankers, which was charged upon the hereditary excise in the twelfth of King William, and of £60,000 to the servants of Charles the Second, which was provided for in the first session of parliament after the Revolution. But in consequence of the continued wars during the whole of King William's reign, above £61,000,000 were voted by parliament for the public expenditure ; and on the 31st of December, 1701, the nation was encumbered with a permanent debt of £6,748,780, the annual interest on which amounted to £566,165.

In the next page will be found subjoined a tabular view of our warlike expenses since the Revolution of 1688. It is copied from the *Pantologia* of Dr. Olinthus Gregory, with the exception of the last line, which is collected from a pamphlet, "Peace or War?" published in 1839.

No. of War	With whom.	Reign.	When begun.	When ended.	By whom ended, and where.	Duration of each War.		Duration of each Peace.		Debt beginning of each War.	Debt contracted in each War.	Total Debt at end of each War.	Debt paid off each Peace.	Average Annual Revenue.
1.	France.	W. 3.	May 7, 1689.	Feb. 10 1697.	Earl Pembroke at Ryswick.	Y. M. D. 7 9 3	Y. M. D. 4 2 22			664,262	20,035,707	20,700,000	4,200,000	3,000,000
2.	France & Spain.	Anne	May 4, 1701.	Mar. 13 1713.	Stratford at Utrecht.	11 10 9	5 9 3			16,500,000	35,500,000	52,000,000	2,000,000	3,700,000
3.	Spain.	G. 1.	Dec. 16 1718.	June 13 1721.	Somerset at Madrid.	2 5 28	18 4 6			50,000,000	6,000,000	56,000,000	6,000,000	4,000,000
4.	Spain.	G. 2.	Oct. 19 1739.	Oct. 18 1748.	Sandwich at Aix-la-Chapelle.	8 11 30	7 7 0			50,000,000	28,000,000	78,000,000	4,000,000	6,000,000
5.	France.	G. 2, 3.	May 18 1756.	Feb. 10 1763.	Duke of Bedford at Fontainebleau.	6 3 21	12 2 9			74,000,000	73,000,000	147,000,000	11,000,000	7,000,000
6.	America, &c.	G. 3.	Apr. 19 1775.	Sep. 3, 1783.	Mr. Grenville at Paris.	8 4 15	9 5 8			136,000,000	110,000,000	246,000,000	11,000,000
7.	France.	G. 3.	Feb. 11 1793.	Mar. 27 1802.	Cornwallis at Amiens.	9 1 16	0 11 11			272,000,000	347,000,000	619,000,000	The sinking fund has paid off upwards of	25,000,000
8.	France, &c.	G. 3.	Mar. 9, 1803.	Apr. 10 1814.	Sovereigns at Fontainebleau.	11 1 1	. . .			619,000,000	488,000,000	779,000,000	200,000,000	100,000,000

THE FOLLOWING TABLE OF OUR WARS SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1688, HAS LATELY BEEN PUBLISHED,
AND WE BELIEVE WILL BE FOUND ACCURATE IN ITS DETAILS.

NAME OF THE WAR.	OUR ENEMIES.	EVENTS.	Number of Years the War lasted.	Ended by the Peace of	Millions raised by TAXES.	Millions raised by LOANS.	Total of the Expenditure in Millions.	Average yearly Expenditure in Millions.	Average of the Yearly Poor Rate.	Average of the Price of Wheat, per Quarter.
The War of the Revolution.	The French	Battles of Dieppe, of the Boync, of La Hogue, of Steinkirk, and Nerwinde. Capitation tax and forced levies in France. National Debt began in England.	9	Ryswick	16	20	36	4	$\frac{3}{4}$ of a million.	44s.
The War of the Spanish Succession.	French, Spaniards.	Battles of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenharde, and Malplaquet. England gains Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.	11	Utrecht.	30	$32\frac{1}{2}$	$62\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$ of a million.	44s. 6d.
The Spanish War, 1739, and the War of the Austrian Succession, 1741.	Spaniards, French.	Battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, Culloden, and Finisterre. Anson's Voyage. Rebellion in 1745.	9	Aix-la-Chapelle.	25	29	54	6	$\frac{1}{2}$ of a million.	32s. 6d.

The Seven Years War.	Spaniards, Austrians, Russians.	Battles of Minden and Abraham. England gains Bengal, Canada, Cape Breton, Tobago, &c.	7	Paris.	52	60	112	16	One million.	39s. 3d.
American War.	Americans, French, Spaniards, Dutch.	Rodney's naval victories. Gibraltar besieged. Battles of Bunker's Hill, Brandywine, and German Town. England loses thirteen N. American provinces, Minorca, Tobago, and the Floridas.	8	Versailles	32	104	136	17	One million and $\frac{3}{4}$.	48s. 6d.
The War of the French Revolution.	French, Spaniards from 1796	France loses all power in India. Battles of Lodi, Arcola, Marengo, Alexandria. Howe, Bridport, Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson's naval victories. Bank restriction, 1797. England gains Malta, Trinidad, and Coromandel.	9	Amiens.	263 $\frac{1}{2}$	200 $\frac{1}{2}$	464	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	Three millions and $\frac{1}{3}$.	78s. 6d.
The War against Napoleon Bonaparte.	French, Spaniards till 1808, Americans from 1812	Battles of Trafalgar, Austerlitz, Saalfeld, Jena, Eylau, Vimiera, Corunna, Wagram, Talavera, Barossa, Albuera, Salamanca, Smolensko, Borodino, Leipsic, Waterloo. England gains Ceylon, the Cape, Berbice, Demerara, &c.	12	Paris.	770 $\frac{1}{2}$	388 $\frac{1}{2}$	1159	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	Five millions and $\frac{1}{2}$.	92s. 8d.
			65		1189	834 $\frac{1}{2}$	2023 $\frac{1}{2}$			

NOTE N, page 302.

“ The Battle of Blenheim,” by Southey, possesses so much truth told in a pleasing manner, that it well deserves a place in a treatise against war.

It was a summer evening,
Old Kaspar’s work was done,
And he before his cottage door
Was sitting in the sun,
And by him sported on the green,
His little grandchild, Wilhelmine.

She saw her brother Peterkin
Roll something large and round,
Which he beside the rivulet,
In playing there had found ;
He came to ask what he had found,
That was so large, and smooth, and round ?

Old Kaspar took it from the boy,
Who stood expectant by ;
And then the old man shook his head,
And with a natural sigh,
“ ’Tis some poor fellow’s skull,” said he,
“ Who fell in the great victory.

I find them in the garden,
For there’s many hereabout ;
And often when I go to plough,
The ploughshare turns them out !
For many a thousand men,” said he,
“ Were slain in that great victory.”

“ Now tell us what ’twas all about,”
Young Peterkin he cries ;
And little Wilhelmine looks up
With wonder-waiting eyes ;

“ Now tell us all about the war,
And what they killed each other for.”

“ It was the English,” Kaspar cried,
“ Who put the French to rout ;
But what they killed each other for,
I could not well make out.
But every body said,” quoth he,
“ That ’twas a famous victory.

My father lived at Blenheim then,
Yon little stream hard by ;
They burnt his dwelling to the ground,
And he was forced to fly ;
So with his wife and child he fled,
Nor had he where to rest his head.

With fire and sword the country round
Was wasted far and wide,
And many a childing mother then,
And new-born baby, died ;
But things like that you know must be,
At every famous victory.

They say it was a shocking sight
After the field was won ;
For many thousand bodies here
Lay rotting in the sun ;
But things like that you know must be,
After a famous victory.

Great praise the Duke of Marlbro’ won,
And our good prince Eugene—”
“ Why ’twas a very wicked thing !”
Said little Wilhelmine.
“ Nay—nay—my little girl,” quoth he,
“ It was a famous victory.

And every body praised the duke,
 Who this great fight did win."
 "But what good came of it at last?"
 Quoth little Peterkin.
 "Why that I cannot tell," said he,
 "But 'twas a famous victory."

THE END.

ERRATA.

- P. 44, Note (†), for "In vita *Besp.*" read, "In vita *Vesp.*"
 51, line 7, for "hymn of peace *sang*," read, "hymn of
 peace *sung*."
 89, Note (*), for "*vie*," read, "*view*."
 95, Note, for "if the injury *had* been perpetrated," read,
 "if the injury *has* been perpetrated."
 276, line 2, for "*possile*," read, "*possible*."

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